

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOI/PA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET  
FOI/PA# 1335300-002

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2004 BY [REDACTED]

October 12, 1938

Honorable J. Strom Thurmond  
Judge, South Carolina Circuit Court  
Edgefield, South Carolina

**Tear Judge Thurmond:**

In the absence of Mr. Hoover from Washington, I wish to advise you that Mr. Edward Scheidt, Special Agent in Charge of this Bureau's Field Office in Charlotte, North Carolina, advised me of your visit to the Charlotte Field Office and of your interest in the work of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

I am sure that Mr. Hoover will be delighted to know that the criminal records of arrested persons furnished by the Bureau to local law enforcement agencies, have been so helpful to you in criminal cases tried in your court.

I am very glad to inform you that pursuant to the suggestion of Mr. Scheidt, your name has been added to the Bureau mailing list, in order that you might receive various Bureau publications as they are issued from time to time.

Sincerely yours,  
For the Director

Harold Nathan  
Assistant Director

CC: Charlotte Field Division

00712-030

Mr Tolson  
Mr Nathan  
Mr T A Tamm  
Mr Clegg  
Mr Coffey  
Mr Conrad  
Mr Eawsey  
Mr Egan  
Mr Foxworth  
Mr Glavin  
Mr Harbo  
Mr Lester  
Mr McIntire  
Mr Nichols  
Mr Quinn Tamm  
Mr Tracy  
Mr Gandy

**Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice**

Charlotte, North Carolina

October 8, 1938

28

8  
Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

On October 7, 1938 Honorable J. STROM THURMOND, Judge of the South Carolina Circuit Court, Edgefield, South Carolina, paid a social visit to the Charlotte Office, and at that time, informed me that the criminal records of arrested persons furnished by the Bureau to local law enforcement agencies are invaluable to him in connection with the cases tried in his court. Judge THURMOND was shown through the office and expressed keen interest in the work of the Bureau.

It is suggested that his name be placed on the Bureau's mailing list to receive copies of the Director's addresses, and other materials which may be sent out from time to time.

Very truly yours,

*Edward Scheidt*  
EDWARD SCHEIDT  
Special Agent in Charge

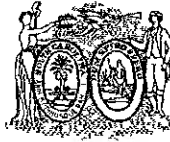
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
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*Wrote Judge Thurmond  
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STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA  
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR  
COLUMBIA

J STROM THURMOND  
GOVERNOR

May 25, 1947

WM LOWNDES DANIEL *WLD*  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY  
JOHN T SLOAN, JR  
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

Mr Tolson ✓  
Mr E A Tamm  
Mr Clegg  
Mr Glavin  
Mr Ladd  
Mr Nichols ✓  
Mr Rosen  
Mr Tracy  
Mr Carson  
Mr Egan  
Mr Gurnea  
Mr Harbo  
Mr Mohr  
Mr Pennington  
Mr Quinn Tamm  
Mr Nease  
Miss Gandy

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Your letter of May 22 with "Uniform Crime Reports" enclosed  
has been received. I wish to express my appreciation for the  
prompt response to my telegram. This material will be of great  
benefit to me. May I take this opportunity to assure you of my  
cooperation in all matters of mutual interest.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Very truly,

*J. Strom Thurmond*  
J. Strom Thurmond  
Governor

JST:im

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DATE 11-18-2004 BY [REDACTED]

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file - no action  
JL 6-9-47*



July 2, 1947

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DATE 11-18-2004 BY [REDACTED]

Honorable J. Strom Thurmond  
The Governor of South Carolina  
Columbia, South Carolina

My dear Governor Thurmond:

Assistant Director D. M. Ladd  
has advised me of his conversation with  
you on July 1, 1947, and it is indeed a  
pleasure to enclose copies of my remarks  
before the Annual Convention of the American  
Legion in San Francisco on September 30,  
1946, my statement before the House Committee  
on Un-American Activities on March 26, 1947,  
and my article entitled "How to Fight Communism"  
from which you may feel free to quote. I trust  
that this material will be of value and if I  
can be of service on any other occasion please  
do not hesitate to communicate with me.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

CC - Savannah

Enclosure

BHM:ptb

Tolson  
E. A. Tamm  
Clegg  
Glavin  
Ladd  
Nichols  
Rosen  
Tracy  
Egan  
Gurnea  
Harbo  
Mohr  
Pennington  
Quinn Tamm  
Nease  
Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 12 1947

INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

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## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE. July 1, 1947

FROM : D. M. LADD

SUBJECT.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2004 BY [REDACTED]

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Jones \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7C

I took a telephone call from Governor Strum Thurmond of South Carolina by reference from your office. Governor Thurmond stated that he was planning on making a speech before the Conference of Governors in Salt Lake City on July 15; that his subject would be adequate National Preparedness, and that the bulk of his speech would be along Military lines. However, he stated that there was one phase of his speech where he desired to deal with the loyalty of citizens and what the citizens can do to protect the internal security against any isms. He wanted to know if you could prepare for him some material that he might use in this regard, and he stated that about one page single-spaced material would be what he would need. He requested that if possible this be forwarded to him this week, addressed to him personally at the State Capitol, Columbia, South Carolina.

I informed the Governor that you were out of the building; that upon your return I would relay this request to you, and that he would be advised whether it was possible to furnish any such material.

DML:cmw

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Part

June 25, 1947

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 11-18-2004 BY [REDACTED]

Honorable J. Strom Thurmond  
The Governor of South Carolina  
Columbia, South Carolina

b6  
b7C

My dear Governor Thurmond:

Your letter dated June 3, 1947, together with enclosures, has been received and the contents carefully noted. Your courtesy in directing this information to me is indeed deeply appreciated.

For your information, I have forwarded to Assistant Attorney General T. L. Caudle of the Criminal Division, Department of Justice, copies of the enclosures you furnished with your communication for his attention.

Pursuant to your request, the enclosures are being returned herewith.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosures

2

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 5
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

68 JUL 15 1947

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : D. M. LADD

FROM : H. B. FLETCHER

SUBJECT: J. STROM THURMOND  
GOVERNOR, STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA

DATE August 25, 1947

Mr. Tolson

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 11-18-2004 BY [REDACTED]

Mr. Curnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

SAC Brown, Atlanta, Georgia, called from Augusta, Georgia, and stated that in accord with the request of the above-named governor he had met with the Governor at Augusta on Sunday, August 24, 1947. that the Governor stated that he had requested to him that [REDACTED]

The Governor wanted SAC Brown to assign one or more agents to investigate this complaint. SAC Brown explained to the Governor that this was a matter not within our jurisdiction and he could not assign Agents to investigate it. The Governor remarked that if the Bureau didn't do it, who could he rely upon to make such an investigation. The Governor today is en route to New York City but may stop over in Washington, D. C. for the purpose of contacting the Bureau regarding this request, or he may, about September 1, call in to the Bureau, at which time he will be in Washington, D. C. because of an appointment with the Secretary of War.

SAC Brown stated that about seven or eight weeks ago, the Governor called upon him to assign some accountants to investigate the State Department of Agriculture, that a committee of the State Legislature had dug up some information that some employees of this department were running and operating a seed-testing laboratory on state time and with state funds and were pocketing the proceeds. At that time, Mr. Brown indicated that he could not assign personnel for that type of investigation.

I informed SAC Brown that his response to the Governor to the effect that this Bureau could not assign personnel to handle this, it being without the jurisdiction of this Bureau, was correct.

HBF:MJJ

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September 22, 1947

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DATE 11-18-2004 BY [REDACTED]

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Honorable J. Strom Thurmond  
The Governor of South Carolina  
Columbia, South Carolina

My dear Governor Thurmond:

Your letter of September 15, 1947,  
together with enclosure, has been received  
and I do want to thank you for making the  
views in your address at the Governors'  
Convention on the subject of adequate national  
preparedness available to me. In the event  
I can be of assistance to you at any time,  
please do not hesitate to call upon me.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

CC - Savannah

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A. Tamm  
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FOR

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2004 BY [REDACTED]



# State of South Carolina

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

Columbia

J. STROM THURMOND  
GOVERNOR

September 15, 1947

WM LOWMEYER DANIEL, JR.  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

Mr Tolson...  
Mr E A Tamm...  
Mr Clegg...  
Mr Glavin...  
Mr Ladd...  
Mr Nichols...  
Mr Rosen...  
Mr Tracy...  
Mr Egan...  
Mr Gurnea...  
Mr Harbo...  
Mr Pennington...  
Mr Quinn Tamm...  
Mr Nease...  
Miss Gandy...

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I am forwarding herewith a copy of the address I made before the  
Governors' Convention at Salt Lake City, Utah, thinking it might be  
of interest to you.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Very truly,

*J. Strom Thurmond*  
J. Strom Thurmond  
Governor

JST:shf

Enclosure

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2004 BY

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# ***Adequate National Preparedness***

ADDRESS OF

**J. STROM THURMOND**

GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA

BEFORE THE ANNUAL MEETING OF

## ***The Governors' Conference***

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

JULY 15, 1947

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*Mr Chairman, Fellow-Governors, Distinguished  
Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen*

I WHY PREPAREDNESS IS ESSENTIAL

The paramount problem which today confronts all mankind is finding the formula for a fair and enduring peace. This Nation, these United States, comprising the 48 states and the territories we here have the honor to represent, is engaged in an all-out effort for peace, not peace in our time, but for all time.

We cannot escape the inevitable fact that this peace for which we strive depends upon the prestige and influence of the United States, the world's greatest stronghold of economic power and the Gibraltar of freedom and democratic processes.

Because of the way the world reckons, our prestige and our influence in international affairs depend upon the efficiency with which we attend to our own national security.

We may as well face facts. What has transpired at the council tables of the world during recent months points not to peace but to war. One of our great Allies in the recent war has embarked on what appears to be a policy of isolationism. At this very moment, one group of European nations is meeting in Paris in an effort to design plans for the rehabilitation of war-devastated Europe. Another group of European nations, under the leadership of the Soviet Union, has remained away from the Paris Conference.

This choosing up of sides in Europe, this forming of spheres of economic influences, is following a path that leads to war and not to peace.

We are a peace-loving Nation. We hate war. As a Nation we are pledged to peace. But when we see one of the great powers of the world adopting a policy of isolationism, of refusing to join with her sister European countries in preparing a plan for rehabilitation of Europe, and when we see that government using its veto power to block the effectiveness of the United Nations, we in the United States are deeply concerned.

When hostilities in World War II ceased, the United States was the greatest military power the world has ever seen. We believed

that all of our Allies meant what they said when they accepted the charter of the United Nations. We sincerely believed that every nation, including the Soviet Union, wanted peace and would work and sacrifice to attain a just and lasting peace.

The result was an all-out demand for demobilization of our armed forces. Within a few months we permitted our military might to fall away from us. We shed it like an outworn garment.

The recent trend of world events forces us to reexamine our state of preparedness. Seldom in our history has it been adequate and now we find ourselves only a few months after the end of a miraculously victorious war, again in a state of unpreparedness.

It seems that a state of chronic unpreparedness has been always our chief military characteristic.

At a time when war can strike without warning, our ground forces have uncommitted only two and one-third combat divisions. Our air and sea forces are somewhat better prepared for an emergency, but both are dwindling so rapidly that they cannot long be regarded as insurance against attack.

We have the word of our respected Chief of Staff, General Eisenhower, that our Army is now a poor second to that of the Soviet Union. He tells us that, while war is not regarded as a probability within the next 12 months, it is regarded as a possibility, that the Army now exerts far less "pressure for peace" than it did when fully mobilized, and that further reduction of the Army would endanger the safety of the Nation.

In regaining our state of preparedness we will be making a contribution for peace. When our Army dwindled to a few hundred men after we won our independence, George Washington told us that "to be prepared for war is one of the most effective means of preserving the peace."

The wisdom of Washington is more pronounced today than it ever was. We are struggling to build a United Nations that will assure world security and bring an end to war. The United Nations is passing through its most critical period. We must not let it fail. To assure its success the United States must remain strong and powerful and by all means it must retain respect and influence around the council table of nations.

We must approach this problem not as Democrats or Republicans—but as Americans. Patriotism, not politics, must be the motivating force by which we again attain national preparedness.

## II HOW PREPAREDNESS CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED

What must we do to achieve national preparedness? History and our own experience provide the answers to this question.

1 *Total Mobilization*—World War II brought realization of a basic principle of the Prussian student and practitioner of war, Von Clausewitz—that the way to win wars is to destroy the enemy's ability to make war. This, with improvements in weapons and methods, has brought the civilian populace into the front lines and has made the home and the factory as much a point of contact as the infantry, armored patrol, or the combat crew in the air.

Man in his madness has achieved what can be described only by a new phrase, "total war."

The only answer to the threat of total war is total mobilization. Experience indicates that we cannot finance another war on the same basis as we have financed other wars. During World War I, we borrowed 30 billions and during World War II, 10 times that much. It has been the history of our major wars that each succeeding one cost 10 times as much as the preceding one.

Furthermore, we are told, and we have reason to believe, that in future wars we will not have the time to mobilize our manpower and our financial and industrial potential in the manner we have before. There will be no time for the recruiting of war workers and there will be no time for the negotiation of contracts for the manufacture of armaments.

It appears possible that if war comes again, we will have to call into national service every man, woman, and child of our Nation in order to provide the weapons of war, supply the combat elements, and maintain the civilian population.

Total mobilization must embrace all of our scientific, industrial and manpower resources, in accordance with an instantaneous pattern of conversion and mobilization.

We should not leave total mobilization to be written or put into effect if and when war comes. No man or group of men should be

left to decide such a vital matter under the shock and confusion of the outbreak of atomic war. On the contrary, we must write into law now the legislation necessary to carry it out, and such legislation should be made self-activating upon the declaration of the existence of a national emergency or state of war.

Total mobilization must embrace the instant conversion of all industry to war production, in accordance with plans and arrangements worked out in advance with each industry, and revised at regular and frequent intervals.

It must also embrace the instant availability on a war-time basis of experienced personnel to operate all war plants and converted industries, in accordance with plans and arrangements worked out in advance with representatives of the working men and women of the Nation, and revised at regular and frequent intervals.

We must also see to it that we have available at once an already organized civilian defense set-up on a nation-wide basis, because local disaster will certainly accompany the initial blow or blows against us, and we cannot know where these blows will fall until they land.

We must revise, reduce to law, and have ready for immediate and automatic activation the measures necessary to insure efficient control of prices, priorities and rationing of all civilian goods and of the foods in which shortages are likely to develop because of the requirements of the armed services, and regulate wages and limit profits, so that as nearly equal contribution to the war effort as possible will be made by each of our citizens.

Our responsible leaders must give thought to this challenging problem and exert the pressure of public opinion necessary to cause it to be faced and solved.

*2 Unification of Armed Services*—Congress is considering legislation to unify our armed services under a single Secretary of National Security. The necessity for unity of command in the field was conclusively demonstrated in World War II, and I am convinced that the principle should be extended to the War and Navy Departments as an integral part of our Preparedness Program.

*3 Organized Military Strength*—Even with a plan of immediate total mobilization and with a streamlined system of command, we

must have ready always a balanced striking force capable of defending our homes and industries and of carrying the fight to the enemy's own territory. The constitution of such a force, its scale and its composition, must, and can with confidence, be left to the armed services to handle in the light of their experience in past wars and in view of current and future developments.

However, civilian leadership must realize that the day of so-called "push-button warfare" has not yet arrived and must see that we remain effective on the ground, on the seas, and in the air.

This they must do in full consciousness of the fact that the largest defensive force may not be the best. The superiority of armies is determined now, as always, less by numbers than by such things as organization, training, leadership, and national spirit. We must be careful to see that our standing Army is a well-trained, well-equipped, and highly mobile striking force, that our Navy is a strong, well-balanced, and well-manned service, and that our Air Force is second to none in training, equipment, and constant development. We must also see that such organizations as the National Guard, the Organized Reserve, and the Naval Reserve are promoted, so that trained personnel will be almost immediately available to expand the standing armed services.

Finally, we must enact and have ready a fair and efficient Selective Service Law, dovetailing with our other preparedness legislation, to provide immediately the reinforcements and replacements which will be necessary to bring the war to a speedy and successful conclusion.

It is well for us to remember that our ability to strike back quickly and successfully will do much to discourage the ambition of a potential aggressor, and organized military, naval, and air components designed to do this will exert strong "pressure for peace."

4 *Universal Military Training.*—To provide a speedy means of expanding our initial defensive or striking force and to insure perpetuation of our reserve elements, we must put into effect a program which will prepare all our potential combat manpower for a proper place in our fighting force.

Aside from the fact that the necessary haste with which we trained our young men for military service in the recent war, re-

sulted in unnecessary casualties, we cannot be sure of time to do even that well if and when we must again fight to defend our lives and freedom

We must, therefore, adopt Universal Military Training Such a program, substantially in the form recommended recently in the report of the President's Advisory Commission, is essential to a well-rounded and comprehensive preparedness program

We have never thought that military training had militaristic effect upon our people Such has not been our experience with the military academies or colleges of which our country has so many, or with the state militia organizations, or the C C C, or the C M T C

If it is interposed that attendance upon or service in these was voluntary, certainly this was not true in most cases of service in the armed forces during the recent war, and yet nearly 14 million of our men and women served for periods up to seven years, hastened back as soon as possible to civilian pursuits, and are now generally better and less warlike American citizens than they were when they entered the service As one who spent three and one-half years in the service in World War II, I know of my own knowledge that this is true

It is also contended that modern war has rendered large numbers of men obsolete, but this contention overlooks the significant fact that, although World War II was the most mechanized in history, nevertheless it required the largest armies

Finally, it is urged that Universal Military Training will be wasteful, but its cost, while large, does not compare with the cost of war, and especially with that of defeat If we could have shortened World War II three and one-half days, the saving in cost would have paid for the training of a million men for a whole year

The program of Universal Military Training is designed to produce the following results

a In the event of an emergency the machinery will already exist whereby the Nation can rapidly mobilize and train its wartime citizen forces

b In peace time, it will enable the Nation to maintain its Regular and Reserve Armed Forces at the highest level of readiness on a voluntary basis, because of the previous training of most enlistees

c It will afford the opportunity of choosing individuals with demonstrated capacity as leaders and giving them further training

d It will train and develop, throughout the country, a pool of persons with special skills required in modern warfare

e It will provide in each community men trained to assist in repelling invaders, and in coping with the disaster, demoralization and destruction attending the initial blows of sudden or sneak attacks

f It will offer real educational values to those undergoing the training, including extensive vocational and trade instruction, and it will afford an opportunity of reducing illiteracy, which ordinarily would preclude military service

g It will result in the detection and correction of many physical defects ordinarily undetected until beyond help, and will improve the national health by the physical benefits accruing to the trainees

It is obvious that Universal Military Training will be invaluable in implementing the measures which will be taken to guarantee organized military strength and provide for total mobilization, because there will be created an enormous pool of men available for the armed services as well as men trained for industrial work and civilian defense duties

I am convinced that Universal Military Training will strengthen our war potential in personnel in advance of war with a minimum of dislocation of the lives of our people and the peace time economy of the Nation, and that whatever the cost we cannot afford to do without it

5 *Scientific Research and Development*—Our side won the race to develop the atomic bomb as an instrument of destruction Had our enemies won, what a different ending World War II might have had

The havoc wrought by the proximity fuse, developed by the Navy in conjunction with the Office of Research and Development, startled the forces of the Axis Designed to protect surface vessels from air attack, it played a strong part in turning the tide in the Battle of the Bulge, and in defense against the buzz-bombs and V-2 rockets It is possible that without this fuse the suicide *kami-*

kaze attacks upon our Fleet at Okinawa might have attained their objective

In the recent war we saw the development of radar, electronic devices of various types, recoilless weapons, pilotless aircraft, and the beginning of warfare with guided missiles and atomic bombs. Science will make even greater advances and have even greater application in any future war, not only in the atomic field, but also in the fields of electronics, radio-activity, jet propulsion, super-sonic speeds, and biological agents. These examples and many others demonstrate that the turning point of modern wars will depend more and more on the earliest development of new weapons, or new uses for, or perhaps new defenses against, existing weapons. Hence, under present day conditions, we must provide for constant peacetime research and development to stay ahead of the rest of the world. A permanent and well-supported agency to this end is an imperative part of our program.

6 *A Worldwide Intelligence Service*—Who can say when war will come? We are told that it will come without warning, by sudden attack. To make our defense effective, we must know as soon as possible of the enemy's intentions. We cannot wait until his ships appear on the horizon, or until our radar, what little we have in service, tells us of the approach of his bombers. We must strive to be forewarned.

Therefore, it is today vital to our security that we create a World-wide Intelligence Service on a career basis. Such a service would function for all departments of our government alike, the diplomatic and the economic, as well as the military. One of its functions would be the coordination and proper evaluation of all information collected and reported by any agency of the government. Pearl Harbor graphically illustrated the critical importance of coordination and evaluation of intelligence.

7 *Closest Coordination Between Those Responsible for Our Foreign Policy and Those Responsible for Our Armed Services*—The complexity of the modern world and the increased telescoping of time and space make it vital that the closest possible relationship exist between the officers and agencies which frame our foreign policy and those responsible for the strength, condition, and disposition of our armed services. This will enable us to gear our military strength to our considered foreign policy, and prevent the



growth of a vacillating foreign policy geared to our military strength, which policy in itself is a symptom of weakness and could lead to war

8 *Uniform Hemispheric Armament and Training*—There is now pending before the Congress a bill to provide for standardization of armament and training in this Hemisphere to make South America, Central America, and North America a complete unit in case of war. The value of hemispheric defense was proven in World War II, and it should be provided for now, and not after war breaks out

9 *Support of Merchant Marine*—We entered World War II, as we had earlier entered World War I, deficient in cargo ships, and had to depend on the shipping resources of our Allies until our construction program overcame the deficit. We all vividly recall how close the submarine campaign of the enemy came to victory in both wars

We are an ocean power and realize the importance of utilizing the oceans as highways to our objectives. Our basic concept of national defense is that the engagements, the operations, and the inevitable destruction of war shall take place as far as possible from our territory. Hence, we must be prepared to project our power overseas, and we must be equipped to supply our forces by sea as well as an transport. Moreover, we must have the ships necessary to bring from abroad, both in peace and in war, the critical raw materials necessary in the manufacture of our war needs

We have emerged from World War II once again with a great merchant marine. We must recognize its indispensable position in our Preparedness Program, see to it that it is not again junked or scuttled, and keep it in condition to meet normal as well as emergency needs

10 *Stock Taking, Stock Piling, and Conservation of Natural Resources*—To be adequately prepared for an emergency, we must have an accurate knowledge of our raw material resources. This calls for a detailed inventory of what we have within our borders, and a like inventory of what can only be obtained from without and where obtainable. The present study of our own natural resources is particularly important because we expended them so freely in the winning of World War II.

We were told by the President in his State of the Union message this year that we are rapidly becoming a "have-not" Nation as to many of our minerals. Included in this category is the raw stuff from which fissionable material is made, as well as alloyable ores needed in the manufacture of steel capable of standing extreme heat.

Hence, our production of atomic energy and of jet propelled engines may depend in the near future on importing those raw materials, and stock piling them from time to time as we are able to locate and obtain them.

Only a few days ago, the Navy announced that it was so short of oil that it could not cope with an emergency at the present time, and must buy 3,000,000 barrels from the Near East to meet its requirements. By this means, it was estimated that in six months' time East Coast naval stocks could be increased to "a position compatible with the Navy's obligations for national security."

Furthermore, our increased national income has brought about increased consumption of our domestic production to the extent that we will now have to import minerals and metals which formerly we were able to export. For instance, we formerly produced enough lead to care for our needs and permit us to export about 100,000 tons a year, while now we are short about 300,000 tons annually. To a lesser extent, we face the same situation with zinc, copper, and petroleum, which in the past were among our chief sources of wealth.

We must, in the national interest, set up the machinery to take stock of our natural resources and see just where we stand. Then we must make plans to import for domestic use those materials in which we may run short in time of war. This presupposes the requisite measures to conserve those resources determined to be vital to our war potential, to locate resources for import in other parts of the world and arrange for their acquisition, and to stock pile such resources, not only to increase our war potential, but also to permit war production to begin at the very moment of attack.

All this must be done now, long before war comes, and adequate legislation should be enacted as early as possible to enable such a program to be carried out on a practical basis.

11 *Decentralization and Dispersal of Industries*—The geographical location of the next Pearl Harbor will be determined by industrial, rather than military or naval, concentration

The concentration of important industrial establishments will put a premium on sudden attack, whereas decentralization of giant industries and a more general distribution of the part of our industrial economy upon which our war effort will depend, will tend to protect our productive capacity, and render a sneak attack less destructive in a military way, and consequently less likely

The nature of modern war dictates that the industrial system of the Nation be dispersed, and that underground location of those industries most vital to our war potential be planned against the hour of need

12 *Control of Sabotage, Sedition, and Subversive Activity*—The success of the enemy in World War II in the use of the Fifth Column as a military weapon is well known to all. By means of sedition and subversive activity, coupled with sabotage of defense installations, supposedly powerful armies were so softened and thrown into confusion that they suffered comparatively easy and stunning defeat. When we entered the war, however, our counter-measures crushed the Fifth Column, and we were remarkably successful in controlling subversive activities and preventing sabotage

In considering this important field of our Preparedness Program, we should remember that the Fifth Column will not await a formal declaration of war any more than military attack does now, and our Preparedness Program must provide for the control of sabotage and subversive activities in peace as well as in war. Even now agents of foreign countries are engaged in such activities in an effort to undermine the American way of life and our time-tested system of democratic government. It is vital to preparedness that we recognize that there can be no divided loyalty in this country, that the hyphenated American is no American at all, and that regardless of creed, racial strain, or national ancestry, our people must face the future on the basis of a common and exclusive American nationality. No man can be a loyal and patriotic American unless he is an American and nothing else



As Theodore Roosevelt once said

"We must not stand merely for America first We must stand for America first and last, and for no other Nation second—except as we stand for fair play for all nations "

No Fifth Column can breed with success among a people who believe in Stephen Decatur's immortal words

"My country! In her intercourse with foreign nations may she always be right, but right or wrong, my country!"

That belief guided those who participated in the birth and early days of this Nation, it must guide today those to whose charge the future of the Nation has been committed

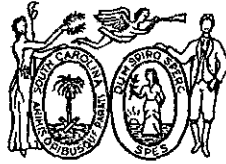
In conclusion, let me remind you that twice in our lifetime we have seen our state of unpreparedness threaten the very existence of our way of life Broad oceans, strong Allies already engaging the common enemy, and a kind Providence have given us time to prepare to meet the evil forces which have threatened us

The initial attack of a future aggressor nation undoubtedly will be thrown against our United States, which has provided the decisive force in the world's two greatest conflicts

Our cause is the cause of peace, and the common sense and patriotism of the American people are our most effective weapons in the struggle to underwrite the peace

Our generation is now responsible for the safety of the United States in a troubled and turbulent world, and for the discharge of our country's proper obligation to exert power and strength for the cause of establishing peace

It is a responsibility and opportunity which challenges our best thought and effort, and I am confident that we as a Nation will meet the challenge



# State of South Carolina

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

Columbia

J. STROM THURMOND  
GOVERNOR

October 8, 1947

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2004 BY [REDACTED]

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Thank you very kindly for the material on sex  
crimes which you [REDACTED] sent [REDACTED]  
of my office, and I particularly liked the master-  
ful summary which you wrote for The American Maga-  
zine.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Very truly,

*J. Strom Thurmond*  
J. Strom Thurmond  
Governor

JST:bsw

RECORDED

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18 18 18

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Chap  
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50 OCT 18 1947 R-344

Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin ✓  
Mr. Ladd ✓  
Mr. Nichols ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo ✓  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Mr. Nease

WM LOWMEYER, JR.  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

b7C  
b6

October 7, 1947

W  
O

Honorable J. Strom Thurmond  
The Governor of South Carolina  
Columbia, South Carolina

RECORDED

My dear Governor Thurmond:

EX-65

I wish to acknowledge your communication of October 2, and undoubtedly by now [REDACTED] has received the information which he discussed over long distance telephone with one of my assistants.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

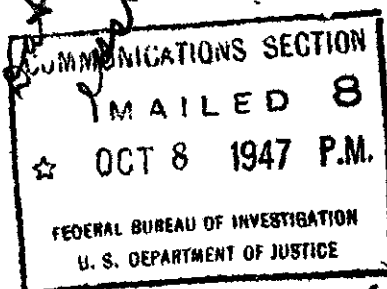
b7C  
b6

LBN:mrh

mrh

to sent Friday

Mr Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Beahm \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



RECEIVED DIRECTOR  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
OCT 8 7 24 PM '47

OCT 8 5 52 PM '47

195



# State of South Carolina

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

Columbia

J STROM THURMOND  
GOVERNOR

WM LOWNDES DANIEL, JR  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

October 2, 1947

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2004 BY [REDACTED]

Tamm

b6  
b7C

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I am scheduled to make an address in a few days on "Sex Crimes". I should appreciate it very much if you will forward me forthwith all the information you have on this subject. If you have a treatise or address which takes up the causes of these crimes, the nature of the crimes, the figures showing the ages of defendants, and their backgrounds, and the recommendations you make to curb this type of crime, I should appreciate your forwarding same to me. It will be quite helpful to me in preparing my address.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Very truly,

*J. Strom Thurmond*  
J. Strom Thurmond  
Governor

JST:shf

Mr. Tamm  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

*Ackd  
10/7/47  
JST*

RECORDED

EX-65

162-52026-8

37 OCT 11 1947

December 3, 1947

RECORDED

EX-32

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-18-2004 BY [REDACTED]

Honorable J. Strom Thurmond  
The Governor of South Carolina  
Columbia, South Carolina

My dear Governor Thurmond:

Your letter dated November 29, 1947,  
has been received, and it is indeed kind of you  
to comment as you did concerning Special Agent  
in Charge D. L. Brown, and the manner in which  
he has cooperated with me. I regret that the  
 exigencies of business necessitated his transfer  
to Cleveland. I am sure you will find Mr. J. A.  
Rosen, who will take Mr. Brown's place, to be  
willing to cooperate in all matters of mutual  
interest.

If I can be of any assistance to you  
at any time, please feel free to communicate  
with me.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. E. [REDACTED]

cc: Savannah, with copy of incoming.  
cc: Norfolk, with copy of incoming.

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 3
☆ DEC 4 - 1947 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

DEC 3 3 01 PM '47  
RECEIVED READING ROOM  
F B I  
DEPT. OF JUSTICE

2 JAN 2 1948

Handwritten notes and signatures at the bottom of the page, including "J. E. [REDACTED]" and "Sincerely yours".





# State of South Carolina

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

Columbia

J STROM THURMOND  
GOVERNOR

November 29, 1947

WM LOWNDES DANIEL JR  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. E. A. Tamm ✓  
Mr. Clegg ✓  
Mr. Glavin ✓  
Mr. Ladd ✓  
Mr. Nichols ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Tracy ✓  
Mr. Egan ✓  
Mr. Gurnea ✓  
Mr. Harbo ✓

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2004 BY [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover  
Director of F. B. I.  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

It has come to my attention that Mr. D. K. Brown, your special agent in charge of the Savannah Division, has been transferred to Cleveland. I am writing to say that all of my contacts with Mr. Brown have been most pleasant, and he has cooperated with us in a fine way.

Mr. Brown has impressed me as being a gentleman of splendid character and ability. I am glad to know that the F. B. I. has men of such high caliber in its personnel.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Very truly,

*J Strom Thurmond*  
J. Strom Thurmond  
Governor

JST:TWS

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&  
INDEXED

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15 DEC 8 1947

EX-32

EX-32

EX-32

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2004 BY [redacted]

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR

OF INVESTIGATION  
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Call or Visitor

Mr. Governor J. Strom Thurmond  
~~called~~ -phoned of South Carolina

Phone No. \_\_\_\_\_

Hour 11:22a Date June 11 19 48

☒ Mr. Tolson  
☐ Mr. E. A. Tamm  
☐ Mr. Clegg  
☐ Mr. Glavin  
☐ Mr. Ladd  
☒ Mr. Nichols  
☐ Mr. Rosen  
☐ Mr. Tracy  
☐ Mr. Egan  
☐ Mr. Gurnea  
☐ Mr. Harbo  
☐ Mr. Jones  
☐ Mr. Mohr  
☐ Mr. Pennington  
☐ Tele. Room  
☒ Mr. Nease  
☐ Miss Holmes  
☐ Miss Gandy

REMARKS

When informed of the Director's absence, he  
consented to speak to Mr. Tolson, and after  
checking he was transferred. Mr. Tolson will  
advise the Director.

SJW

*Letter written  
to Tolson  
6/11*

*G.I.R.-9*

RECORDED - 110

3 JUN 15 1948

52026-10

EX-4

CRIME REC.

22 JUN 25 1948



United States Department of Justice  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

305 Realty Building  
Savannah, Georgia  
October 14, 1948



IN REPLY, PLEASE REFER TO

FILE NO

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted]  
ON 11-18-2004

~~PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

Re: Governor J. Strom Thurmond  
South Carolina  
Presidential Aspirant  
States Rights Party

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Clegg	✓
Mr. Glavin	✓
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tracy	✓
Mr. Egan	✓
Mr. Gurnea	✓
Mr. Harbo	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Pennington	✓
Mr. Quinn Tamm	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

Dear Mr. Hoover:

In my efforts to get acquainted with the local situation since my arrival in Savannah, the following facts which may be of interest to the Bureau have been compiled regarding J. Strom Thurmond, presently Governor of South Carolina.

Governor Thurmond is very well known and is a very close personal friend of Special Agent [redacted] of this office. As the Bureau knows [redacted] has been active throughout the State of South Carolina for years and was formerly [redacted]

[redacted] reports that Governor Thurmond is a thoroughly honest, reliable man. He cannot be bought financially. He is slightly sluggish mentally. However, he is a very sincere, forthright individual. The Governor has admitted that he did not aspire to the leadership of the States Rights Party, but that it was virtually forced upon him in that while he did agree with the objective, he did not seek the candidacy as leader for himself. Of possible interest is the fact that according to the Governor's own admission the job was originally offered to Ben Laney, Governor of Arkansas, and Richard Russell, United States State Senator from Georgia.

Thurmond has been well known to the Special Agents in Charge of this office since his inauguration as Governor two years ago. He has been extremely cooperative with the Savannah Office. He has called previous Special Agents in Charge by telephone on numerous occasions asking their advice on various matters. He is very interested in law enforcement work which may be partially explained by the fact that he was formerly a Circuit Court Judge in Edgefield, South Carolina. It is common talk that

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68 OCT 21 1964

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71 NOV 4 - 1948

12 OCT 27 1948  
11-12-48-11  
12 OCT 27 1948

Letter to Director

October 14, 1948

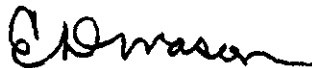
Re: Governor J. Strom Thurmond

he will oppose Senator Olin D. Johnston for the United States Senate in 1950 inasmuch as the Governor of South Carolina cannot offer himself for re-election after serving one term. His political future in the State of South Carolina seems somewhat assured as evidenced by almost unanimous acclamation of his States Rights Program, which seems to be a result of resentment on the part of South Carolinians to interference by outside interests in what they consider purely local problems.

South Carolinians appear to consider outside interference not only in voting matters but labor union actions and infiltration by any more or less northern groups. This conclusion is drawn from conversations with Resident Agents and police officials representing a rather close coverage of the entire State of South Carolina.

The Bureau will be interested in knowing that if anything is desired of Governor J. Strom Thurmond, we feel in a position to arrange it.

Very truly yours,



E. D. MASON  
Special Agent in Charge

EDM:CLY

EX - 107

RECORDED 59

December 4, 1952

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2004 BY [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

Honorable Strom Thurmond  
Thurmond, Lybrand, and Simons  
Aiken, South Carolina

My dear Mr. Thurmond:

Your letter of November 28, 1952, has been received and it was a pleasure to hear from you.

The extremely heavy pressure of my schedule for the past several years has made it impossible for me to accept speaking engagements except in rare instances and therefore I am unable to comply with your request.

I am enclosing, however, a copy of my testimony before the Special Committee to Investigate Organized Crime in Interstate Commerce as well as a statement captioned "The Crime Problem" prepared by the FBI, which points up the current crime trend. There is also enclosed data regarding juvenile delinquency which I thought you might like to have as well as a reprint of an article I prepared for the Iowa Law Review entitled, "Civil Liberties and Law Enforcement: The Role of the FBI" which may be of interest.

Please let me know whenever I may be of possible service or assistance.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosures (6)

Leon  
dd  
chole  
mont  
egg  
avin  
rbo  
en  
cy  
ghlin  
r  
e  
loman

Director's statement dated 3/26/52; Cases Involving Juveniles, July 14, 1952; The Crime Problem; Sunday School - Key to Tomorrow; Civil Liberties and Law Enforcement: The Role of the FBI; Juvenile Delinquency;

NOTE: Strom Thurmond is former Governor of South Carolina and ran for the presidency in 1948 on the States Rights ticket.

DEC 5 1952

COMM-FBI

LAW OFFICES  
THURMOND, LYBRAND & SIMONS  
AIKEN, SOUTH CAROLINA

STROM THURMOND  
DORCEY LYBRAND  
CHARLES E SIMONS JR  
MARVIN L SMITH  
ASSOCIATE

November 28, 1952

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2004 BY

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover  
Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

b6  
b7C

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I wish you would please add my name to your mailing list to receive your addresses from time to time.

If you have a copy of an address you have made recently giving the latest figures on crime and other information on law enforcement, I should thank you to please send me a copy of it. I do not care about the detailed statistical reports that you publish on all crimes, but I am anxious to get one of your addresses in which you highlight the figures and show the trend and bring out important points concerning law enforcement. A few years ago I received your addresses and thought they were very fine.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Very truly,

*Strom Thurmond*  
Strom Thurmond

ST:sf

EX - 107

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Bene me  
12-4-52  
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*4/26  
CRIME REC.  
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*ml  
12-4-52  
HPL*

*36 gen*

*(M)*

Director, FBI

10/19/49

SAC, Savannah

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-18-2004 BY [REDACTED]

POLICE TRAINING  
SAVANNAH DIVISION

Enclosed is a self-explanatory letter from Governor J. STROM  
THURMOND regarding our police training in South Carolina.

b6  
b7C

He is very interested in police training and I chat with him about  
it at least once a month.

EDM/awo

Enclosure

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 115-44

62-52026-  
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75 NOV 14 1949

DE-INDEXED  
DATE: 2/5/68  
26

P-953

NOV 1949

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols *ms*

FROM : M. A. Jones *ms*

SUBJECT: J. STROM THURMOND  
SENATOR-ELECT, SOUTH CAROLINA  
WRITE-IN DEMOCRAT

DATE: November 5,  
1954

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7c

There is set forth below miscellaneous information regarding J. Strom Thurmond, the Senator-elect of South Carolina. You will recall that Thurmond was a Write-in Democrat.

File review reflects that we have had cordial relations with J. Strom Thurmond dating as early as 1938 when he was a Judge of the South Carolina Circuit Court at Edgefield, South Carolina. During the year 1947 when Thurmond was Governor of South Carolina he and the Director exchanged correspondence on numerous occasions throughout the year. The majority of this correspondence pertained to Mr. Thurmond's requesting material for speeches and also furnishing the Director with a copy of one speech. By letter dated November 29, 1947, the Governor wrote the Director and commented very favorably regarding Mr. D. K. Brown, who was then SAC at Savannah, but who was being transferred to Cleveland. This letter was acknowledged on December 3, 1947.

On June 11, 1948, Mr. Thurmond telephoned the Director's Office, but when informed of the Director's absence, he consented to speak to Mr. Tolson. Governor Thurmond requested the names of former Special Agents whom he could contact regarding an inquiry he wished conducted into the Industrial Commission of South Carolina. By letter dated June 11, 1948, the Director furnished Governor Thurmond with the names and brief biographical sketches of six former Agents. *ms*

You will recall that Governor J. Strom Thurmond was a Presidential aspirant of the States Rights Party in 1948.

By letter dated November 28, 1952, Mr. Thurmond requested that his name be placed on the Director's mailing list to receive copies of Director's speeches. By letter dated December 4, 1952, Mr. Thurmond was advised that because of the Director's schedule for the past several years it had been impossible to accept speaking engagements except in rare instances. There was enclosed, however, a copy of the Director's testimony before the Subcommittee to Investigate Organized Crime in Interstate Commerce as well as other statements pertaining to crime problems, juvenile delinquency, and civil rights. (62-52026 and 67-037-304).

RECOMMENDATION:

RECORDED - 86

EX - 109

That the attached letter to Senator-elect J. Strom Thurmond be sent.

Attachment *11-5-54*

13 NOV 8 1954

INDEXED - 86

NOV 15 1954

*ms*  
IML  
PERS



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: November 5, 1954

FROM : SAC, Savannah (80-471)

ATT: TRAINING AND INSPECTION  
DIVISIONSUBJECT: STROM THURMOND  
SAC Contact - Savannah DivisionALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-19-2004 BY [REDACTED]DESCRIPTION OF PROPOSED SAC CONTACT

Senator STROM THURMOND has recently been elected to the U. S. Senate from South Carolina by virtue of a write-in victory over Democratic committee candidate in state-wide election. He was previously a candidate for President on the so-called "States Rights" ticket. He is also a former Governor of South Carolina. He has established a lucrative law practice at his home in Aiken, South Carolina.

b6  
b7C  
1SERVICES THIS CONTACT CAN PROVIDE

Mr. THURMOND has excellent political connections in South Carolina and throughout the South. As senator elect to U. S. Senate he will no doubt enhance his political activities on a national basis. In this capacity he can and will be of material assistance to the Bureau in political and related matters both in South Carolina and nationally.

PAST RELATIONS WITH FIELD OFFICE

Relations with Mr. THURMOND have always been most amiable. He regards the Bureau highly as a very efficient investigative agency and has expressed sincere admiration for the Director and the Bureau's personnel. During World War II he was closely associated with the Bureau when he was a member of the Armed Forces. He was particularly closely associated with SAC OSCAR HAWKINS who at that time was assigned liaison duties in the New York area.

THUMBNAIL SKETCH

Mr. THURMOND is a native of South Carolina, enjoys an excellent reputation, and is considered honest even by his political opponents. He established a fine record as Governor of South Carolina, became prominent nationally by virtue of his becoming a Presidential candidate on the "States Rights" ticket

JML:FM

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11/23/54, Form 2-14(2)  
MHS

11/10/54  
12/10/54

Let to Director, FBI

November 5, 1954

Re: STROM THURMOND  
SAC Contact - Savannah Division

in 1948. He has long been active in politics in South Carolina, served with the Armed Forces during World War II, is married. During interval between his Governorship of South Carolina and his recent election to the U. S. Senate, he established a lucrative law practice in Aiken, South Carolina.

DEROGATORY INFORMATION

Savannah indices are negative, and no derogatory information is available concerning this contact.

RECOMMENDATION OF SAC

It is recommended that THURMOND be approved as an SAC Contact.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-19-2004 BY [REDACTED]

November 5, 1954

PERSONAL

b6  
b7c

G. I. R. -9

Honorable Strom Thurmond  
Thurmond, Lybrand, and Simons  
Aiken, South Carolina

My dear Mr. Thurmond:

I want to take this opportunity to  
offer my sincere congratulations on your recent  
election as Senator for the State of South  
Carolina.

Undoubtedly, the confidence expressed  
in you by the people of your state is a great  
source of pride. May I wish you every success  
during the years to come.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Name per Mailing List and latest correspondence.  
Which omits the "J"

RECORDED - 87

EX 109

NOV 8 1954  
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MAILED 6

NOV 5 1954

COMM - FBI

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Room

NOV 11 1954

LAW OFFICES  
THURMOND, LYBRAND & SIMONS  
AIKEN, SOUTH CAROLINA

STROM THURMOND  
DORCEY LYBRAND  
CHARLES E SIMONS JR

ASSOCIATES  
MARVIN L SMITH  
THOMAS H HORTON

November 17, 1954

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-19-2004 BY [REDACTED]

G.I.R. 1  
751

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Boardman	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Harbo	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Parsons	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tamm	✓
Mr. Sizoo	✓
Mr. Winterrowd	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Holloman	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

b7C  
b6

7/ Honorable J. Edgar Hoover  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Your nice letter of congratulations has been received.  
It was very thoughtful of you to write me and your  
interest in my race is highly appreciated.

Our race demonstrated Democracy in action and showed  
that the people would not be denied their precious  
right of suffrage.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

*Strom Thurmond*  
Strom Thurmond

ST:br

*no action  
file  
4/28/54*

EXP. PROC.  
NOV 22 1954

RECORDED - 84

62-52026-16

10 NOV 24 1954

EX-124

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-19-2004 BY

SAC, Savannah (80-471)

12-20-54

RECORDED-52

Director, FBI (62-52026)

EX-130

~~WILLIAM~~ THURMOND  
SAC CONTACT

In reply to your letter of December 14, 1954, you  
are advised the above-captioned individual is approved as an  
SAC Contact.

WJS:nfp  
4 copies

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

DEC 28 1954

b7C  
b6

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

b6  
b7c

TO : Director, FBI (62-52026)

DATE December 14, 1954

FROM : SAC, Savannah (80-471)

ATT: ~~TRAINING AND INSPECTION~~  
DIVISIONSUBJECT: STROM THURMOND  
SAC Contact  
Savannah Division

Re Bureau form dated 11/23/54 which pointed out non-approval of STROM THURMOND as an SAC Contact because recommendation does not contain a clear showing of the unusual services or extraordinary courtesies the proposed SAC Contact has rendered or is willing and able to provide.

My letter of 11/5/54 advised that Mr. THURMOND was recently elected to the U. S. Senate from South Carolina by virtue of a write-in victory in a state-wide election. He was a former Governor of South Carolina, and a candidate for President on the so-called "States Rights" ticket. He has excellent political connections in South Carolina and throughout the South. His recent write-in victory has greatly enhanced his political power in South Carolina, and as U. S. Senator he is definitely in the national picture.

Mr. THURMOND has uniformly exhibited a very friendly attitude and admiration for the Bureau and its personnel. He was closely associated with SAC OSCAR HAWKINS in World War II in a liaison capacity. He is definitely in a position to be of future assistance, and to render extraordinary courtesies or unusual services to the Bureau, not only with regard to political, legal and financial matters in the State of South Carolina, but to the Bureau on a national basis while in Washington, D. C.

It is believed that the services which he can render are comparable on a state and national basis to those rendered by A. FLETCHER SPIGNER, Jr., State Senator of South Carolina; CLEVE MINCY, State Senator from Waycross, Ga., and JAMES HUGH McFADDEN, State Senator of South Carolina, who have previously been approved by the Bureau as SAC Contacts.

It is requested that the Bureau reconsider approving Senator THURMOND as a contact. Please advise.

JML:FM  
(4)

OKM

RECORDED-52

DEC 17 1954

DEC 16 1954

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-30-2004 BY [REDACTED]

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Boardman	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Parsons	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tamm	
Mr. Sizoo	
Mr. Winterrowd	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

TO : Mr. Louis B. Nichols  
Assistant to the Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

FROM : Robert W. Minor  
First Assistant to the Deputy Attorney General

SUBJECT:

DATE. June 3, 1955

I have just learned that Senator Strom Thurmond  
has an appointment with the Director for next Tuesday morning.  
I understand further that the Senator plans to bring [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

I thought you should know, prior to the appointment,  
that the Department has indicated to Senator Thurmond that  
the Attorney General could not recommend [REDACTED]  
nomination to the President. Senator Thurmond is also aware of  
the nature of our objections [REDACTED]

Your records will reflect that [REDACTED] in the  
past made public statements and wrote open letters critical of  
the FBI, the Department of Justice, a former Attorney General,  
and former President Truman. His criticisms generally involved  
investigations of alleged civil rights violations in the county  
for which he was sheriff. His statements not only indicated  
a refusal to cooperate with the FBI, but expressed open antagonism  
toward the Bureau and some of its agents.

*Thurmond never intimated  
when seeking the appoint-  
ment with [REDACTED]  
bringing [REDACTED]*

RECORDED - 40  
62-52026-18  
JUN 16 1955  
[REDACTED]

EX-112

EXP. PROC.

JUN 3 1955

ERS. FILES

b7C  
b6

b7C  
b6

b7C  
b6

b7C  
b6

206

note in the room 6/3/55/gh



## UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-19-2004 BY [redacted]

STON 25, D C

1955

Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. Boardman ✓  
Mr. Nichols ✓  
Mr. Belmont ✓  
Mr. Harbo ✓  
Mr. Mohr ✓  
Mr. Parsons ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Tamm ✓  
Mr. Sizoo ✓  
Mr. Winterrowd ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Mr. Holloman ✓  
Miss Gandy ✓

12:20

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

STrom

[redacted] Senator

Thurmond of South Carolina, called and advised the Senator would like to see you on June 7, 8, or 9, any time convenient to you. He indicated that the Senator wanted to discuss with you an investigation that we made [redacted]

b7C  
b6

I advised [redacted] of your absence from the office and that I would be in touch with you and would advise him whether it would be possible for you to see Senator Thurmond on the days indicated.

b7C  
b6

You will recall that investigation [redacted]

[redacted] was requested by Deputy AG Rogers on January 10, 1955. Pursuant to information received from Mr. Rogers on February 8, 1955, the investigation was discontinued and then reopened on February 25, 1955, in accordance with the request of Mr. Rogers. Investigation was concluded and reports in the matter were forwarded to the Department on March 16, 1955. [redacted]

[redacted] Since December 1943, [redacted] on several occasions has expressed privately and publicly antagonism toward the FBI, the Department of Justice, and the Federal Government, generally for investigating civil rights cases. [redacted]

b6  
b7C

You will also recall that the Attorney General informed you on March 1, 1955, that he, the Attorney General, had seen [redacted] on that date and [redacted] told him he had cordial relations with the FBI, so much so that when his name was mentioned in the press in South Carolina as being considered for the position of US Marshal, one of our Agents called [redacted] by phone and congratulated him and expressed the hope he would be confirmed for the position. As a result of the Bureau's investigation, Special Agent [redacted] of the Savannah Office, was censured for his actions in this regard. A detailed memorandum on this action is attached.

b7C  
b6

EX-112

I have asked Mr. Rosen to prepare a summary of the facts in the [redacted] Case for your use in the event you see Senator Thurmond.

cc-Mr. Nichols

Mr. Rosen

Tele Room

FCH:eff (5)

Respectfully,

F. C. Holloman

b7C  
b6

UNRECORDED COPY FILED: 77-65930-1

Handwritten notes: "I have asked Mr. Rosen to prepare a summary of the facts in the [redacted] Case for your use in the event you see Senator Thurmond." and "cc-Mr. Nichols Mr. Rosen Tele Room FCH:eff (5)".



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols *[Signature]*

FROM : M. Jones *[Signature]*

SUBJECT: STROM THURMOND  
SENATOR - SOUTH CAROLINA

DATE: June 3, 1955

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-19-2004 BY

Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

PURPOSE:

To set forth salient information appearing in Bureau files concerning captioned individual who has an appointment to see the Director at 10:00 a.m., ~~Monday~~, June 7, 1955.

INFORMATION IN BUREAU FILES:

Bureau files reflect we have had cordial relations with Thurmond dating back as early as 1938 when he was a Judge of the South Carolina Circuit Court at Edgefield, South Carolina. During the year 1947 when Thurmond was Governor of South Carolina he and the Director exchanged correspondence on numerous occasions throughout the year. The majority of this correspondence pertained to Mr. Thurmond's requesting material for speeches, and he also furnished the Director with a copy of one speech. By letter dated November 29, 1947, the Governor wrote the Director and commented very favorably regarding D. K. Brown who was then Special Agent in Charge at Savannah but who was transferred to Cleveland. This letter was acknowledged on December 3, 1947.

On June 11, 1948, Thurmond telephoned the Director's office but when informed of the Director's absence he consented to speak to Mr. Tolson. Thurmond requested the names of former Special Agents whom he could contact regarding an inquiry he wished conducted into the Industrial Commission of South Carolina. By letter dated June 11, 1948, the Director furnished Governor Thurmond with the names and brief biographical sketches of six former Agents.

You will recall that Governor Thurmond was a presidential aspirant of the States Rights Party in 1948.

By letter dated November 28, 1952, Thurmond requested that his name be placed on the Director's mailing list to receive copies of the Director's speeches. By letter dated December 4, 1952, he was advised that because of the Director's schedule for the past several years it had been impossible to accept speaking engagements except in rare instances. There was enclosed, however, a copy of the Director's testimony before the Subcommittee to Investigate Organized Crime.

cc - Mr. Nichols  
cc - Mr. Holloman  
cc - Mr. Jones  
cc - Tour Room

DGH:rcw  
(9)

RECORDED - 40

EX-112

JUN 16 1955

b6  
b7C

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

June 3, 1955

in Interstate Commerce as well as other statements pertaining to crime problems, juvenile delinquency and civil rights.

By letter dated November 5, 1954, the Director congratulated Thurmond upon his election to the Senate. In December, 1954, Thurmond was made an SAC Contact of the Savannah Office. (62-52026 and 67-037-304)

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

SAC, Savannah (80-471)

3/15/56

RECORDED - 67 Director, FBI (62-52026)-71

STROM THURMOND  
SAC CONTACT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-19-2004 BY [REDACTED]

Reurlet 3/8/56. Bureau approval is granted to  
continue Senator Thurmond as an SAC Contact.

b6  
b7C

*Wint*  
WWW:hcc:hcc  
(4)

*P. L. R.*  
Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols *[initials]*  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

COMM - FBI  
MAR 15 1956  
MAILED 19

*hcc*  
21 MAR 21 1956

*M* *Bm3*

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (62-52026)

DATE: March 8, 1956

FROM : SAC, Savannah (80-471)

ATT: TRAINING AND INSPECTION  
DIVISIONSUBJECT: STROM THURMOND  
SAC CONTACTALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-19-2004 BY [REDACTED]

U. S. Senator (South Carolina) STROM THURMOND has been an approved SAC Contact of this office.

b6  
b7C

Press has recently announced that in keeping with his initial campaign pledge while running for the U. S. Senate, Senator THURMOND has submitted his resignation from the Senate for the purpose of acquiring a new senatorial election in November 1956 for a full term. In this connection, Senator THURMOND was elected to office by an unprecedented write-in election which election, through a technicality, was for a full six-year term. While campaigning, however, Senator THURMOND pledged that inasmuch as the senatorial election resulted from death of incumbent at that time, he was running on a write-in basis only for the unexpired term of the deceased senator. He pledged that if elected, even though for a full term, he would resign in the Spring of 1956 in order to announce his candidacy for a new full term of six years.

The Democratic Primary for this office, which is tantamount to election, is scheduled for July 1956. All indications at this time are to effect that Senator THURMOND will be re-elected to a full term.

In view of his past cooperativeness and the fact that he is still considered in a position to render special and unique services and courtesies, it is recommended that he be continued as an SAC Contact of this office.

- ② - Bureau  
1 - Savannah

JML:FM

(3)

ICC detached  
by Mr. Planning Section  
wvw.

RECORDED - 67

16 MAR 1956

Let Savannah  
SAC 2/15/56 WNW: hca  
62-52026-21

MS  
TWO WNW

GIR

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-19-2004 BY [REDACTED]

b6  
b7c

November 7, 1956

PERSONAL

Honorable <sup>①</sup> Strom Thurmond  
United States Senator  
Aiken, South Carolina

My dear Senator:

It was good to see that you will again be a member of the United States Senate, and I wanted to take this means of wishing you a most successful term.

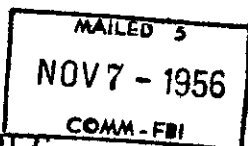
Your understanding of our many problems is deeply appreciated by all of us, and it is hoped you will call upon us if we can be of any help in matters of mutual interest.

Sincerely yours,  
J. Edgar Hoover

Nov 7 11 56 AM '56  
REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI

NOTE: Letter per Mr. Nichols' instructions. Congratulated in 1954. Resigned from Senate 4-4-56, after serving two years in order to run for re-election. Being addressed as Senator even though he resigned. Unopposed. *my*

ECK:imc  
(4)



RECORDED

EX - 117

17 NOV 9 1956

62 NOV 15 1956

WARREN G. MAGNUSON, WASH., CHAIRMAN  
 JOHN O. PASTORE, R. I.  
 A. S. MIKE MONRONEY, OKLA.  
 GEORGE A. SMATHERS, FLA.  
 PRICE DANIEL, TEX.  
 SAM J. ERVIN, JR., N. C.  
 ALAN BIBLE, NEV.  
 STROM THURMOND, S. C.

JOHN W. BRIGGS, OHIO  
 ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL, KANS.  
 JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER, MD.  
 CHARLES E. POTTER, MICH.  
 JAMES H. DUFF, PA.  
 WILLIAM A. PURTELL, CONN.  
 FREDERICK G. PAYNE, MAINE

EDWARD JARRETT, CHIEF CLERK

# United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON  
 INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Boardman	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Parsons	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tamm	✓
Mr. Winterrowd	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Holloman	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

Aiken, S. C.  
 November 9, 1956

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 11-19-2004 BY [REDACTED]

b6  
 b7C

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover  
 Federal Bureau of Investigation  
 Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Your letter of November 7th has been received,  
 and I greatly appreciate your kind thought of  
 me.

Please be assured of my fullest cooperation  
 with your organization during my Senate term,  
 and with best wishes and kindest regards,

Sincerely,

*Strom Thurmond*  
 Strom Thurmond

ST/bt

RECORDED-11 62-52026-23  
 16 DEC 17 1956

*No Action*  
*seen*

*see*  
*84*  
*✓*

~~EXP. PROC.~~  
 NOV 13 1956

DEC 26 1956

Office Memorandum •

UNITED STATES

GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: 4-19-57

FROM : L. B. Nichols

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-19-2004 BY [redacted]

SUBJECT:

J. Starnes  
[redacted] Rogers' office called. He had a call from Senator Thurmond of South Carolina. The Senate is about to consider for confirmation a postmaster whom Thurmond would not identify to [redacted]. The Senator stated he had a report of an attempted bribery and would like to talk to someone about the validity of the report and its bearing upon the confirmation.

[redacted] thought this would be an investigative matter and we should have someone see Thurmond. I told [redacted] if he had the identity of the case we could check on it but that we cannot go into detail on the matter of the confirmation, that I thought it would be preferable for him to see Thurmond and if there is any matter for us to investigate, we will be glad to do whatever is requested or we could check on the situation. I also told [redacted] this would appear to be a Post Office matter. He stated the Post Office Department had referred Thurmond to the Justice Department and under the circumstances I think we should stay out of this until we know what it is.

cc - Mr. Boardman  
cc - Mr. Rosen

LBN:nl  
(4)

RECORDED-82

APR 23 1957

EX-107

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_

b7C  
b6

b7C  
b6

b7C  
b6

173  
6 1957

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: April 22, 1957

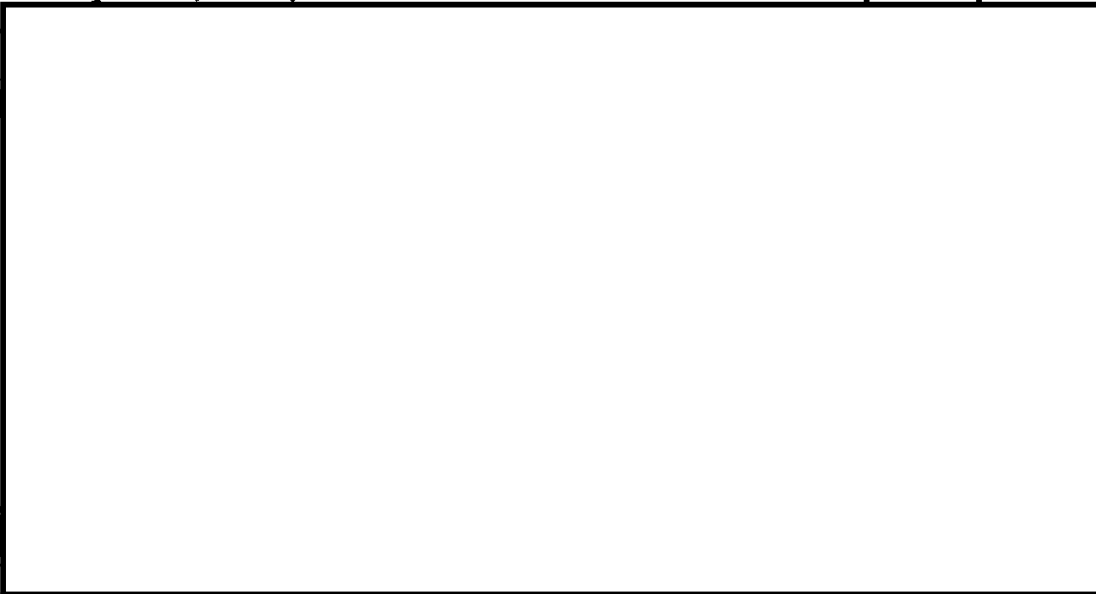
FROM : William P. Rogers, Deputy Attorney General

SUBJECT: Mr. William E. Barmore

Tolson	✓
Nichols	✓
Mr. Boardman	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Parsons	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tamm	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Holloman	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

*Evans*

Senator Strom Thurmond told [redacted]  
on April 18, 1957, that he had received a letter from [redacted]



INDEXED - 54

RECORDED - 54

*4/23/57*  
*memo Evans to Rosen*  
*Antip to Charlotte*  
*sent separately ACK: fds*

APR 23 1957

*6- [signature]*

*193*  
*1957*

~~EXP. PROC.~~  
APR 23 1957

b7C  
b6  
b7D



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-19-2004 BY [redacted]

January 31, 1958

b6  
b7C

Honorable J. Strom Thurmond  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

I was indeed sorry to learn of the passing of your mother, and I wanted to send you this personal note expressing my deepest sympathy.

While there is nothing I can say to lessen your sorrow, I did want you to know that all of us in the FBI are thinking of you in your hour of bereavement. If there is any way in which I can be of assistance, please let me know.

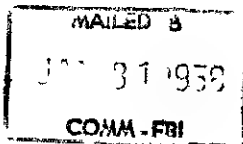
With kind personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Bufiles reflect there has been cordial correspondence with Thurmond in the past.

ENCLOSURE



INDEXED - 79  
RECORDED - 79

JAN 31 3 58 PM '58  
REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

CBF:blh  
(3)

FEB 7 1958

MAIL ROOM ☐

FEB 4 1958

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-19-2004 BY  

b6  
b7C

Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Clayton \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

# **Mrs. Thurmond, Senator's Mother**

AUGUSTA, Ga., Jan 30 (AP).  
—Mis J W ~~X~~ Thurmond, 89,  
of Edgefield, S. C., mother of  
United States Senator Strom  
Thurmond, died at University  
Hospital here early today

Mis Thurmond had been  
critically ill for several days  
and was taken to the hospital  
here from her home yesterday  
Senator Thurmond flew here  
from Washington yesterday to  
be at his mother's bedside

Mis Thurmond has two  
other sons, J W and George  
Thurmond, both physicians  
here

Also surviving are three  
daughters, Miss Gertrude  
Thurmond of Columbia, S C.,  
Mrs Martha Bishop of Green-  
wood, S C., and Mis J Rob-  
ert Tompkins of Edgefield, S C.

Mis Thurmond was a native  
of Edgefield County, South Car-  
olina, where she had lived all  
her life Her late husband was  
an attorney

*deceased*  
*B. APPROX. 1869*

*Let. to Thurmond (encl.)*  
*1-31-57*  
*CBF*

Wash. Post and \_\_\_\_\_  
Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
Wash. News \_\_\_\_\_  
Wash. Star 1957 FINAL  
N. Y. Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
N. Y. Journal-\_\_\_\_\_   
American \_\_\_\_\_  
N. Y. Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
N. Y. Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
N. Y. Times \_\_\_\_\_  
Daily Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
New Leader \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

62-52026-26  
ENCLOSURE

JAN 30 1957

b6  
b7C

**United States Senate**

WASHINGTON, D C

February 7, 1958

Mr Tolson	✓
Mr Boardman	✓
Mr Belmont	✓
Mr Nichols	✓
Mr Nease	✓
Mr Parsons	✓
Mr Rosen	✓
Mr Tamm	✓
Mr Trotter	✓
Mr Clayton	✓
Tele Room	✓
Mr Holloman	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

Dear Mr. Hoover,

Your letter expressing sympathy on the death of my dear Mother has been received.

I wish to thank you for remembering me and my family in our bereavement. Although we shall miss her greatly, we are comforted by the fact that she lived a useful, Christian life and was an inspiration to her children and friends.

The burden of our grief is lessened by the thoughtfulness of friends like you.

Sincerely,

*Strom Thurmond*

Strom Thurmond

*Wack - In  
reply to Bulst.  
Hue.*

*file*

*4/12/58*  
**EXP. PROC.**  
FEB 12 1958

REC- 50

*62-52026-2*

FEB 24 1958

EX - 131

*F-440*  
65 FEB 20 1958

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nease *grr*

DATE November 5, 1958

FROM : M. A. Jones *7*ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-19-2004 BY  SUBJECT INQUIRY FROM SENATOR STROM THURMOND'S  
OFFICE (DEMOCRAT)  
SOUTH CAROLINATamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

On 11-4-58   known to SA   of   Crime Records Section, who is currently employed in Senator Thurmond's office, called   inquiring as to whether the Director had ever made the statement to the effect that "The No. 1 aim of the Communist Party is to foment racial strife."

b7C  
b6

It is noted that Jack Anderson in Drew Pearson's Column for 9-19-58 made the statement "Behind the racial strife in the south, FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover has detected the hidden hand of the Communist Party." This was checked out at the time and it was determined that the Director had made no such statement. In the Director's 1959 Appropriations Testimony he does point out, of course, that the Negro situation is being exploited fully and continuously by communists on a national scale. The Director's book, "Masters of Deceit," also contains numerous references to the interest of the Communist Party in the racial question. At no time does the Director, however, state that the No. 1 aim of the Communist Party is to foment racial strife.

  was called back and his attention was directed to Mr. Hoover's book, "Masters of Deceit," which   said that he had read and had in his office. The Director's '59 Appropriations Testimony was also brought to   attention. A copy is being given   He was told that Mr. Hoover has not stated that the No. 1 aim of the Communist Party is to foment racial strife, however, the party has manifested a continuous interest in the whole racial situation as indicated in Mr. Hoover's book and the Appropriations Testimony.   stated he was very appreciative of having this clarified.

b7C  
b6RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

1 - Mr. Nease

HEH:blr

(4)

60 NOV 18 1958

REC-23

62-52026-29

23 NOV 7 1958

X-108

CRIME/REC

January 22, 1959

Honorables J. Strom Thurmond  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-19-2004 BY [REDACTED]

My dear Senator:

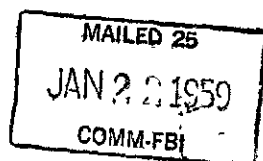
I was pleased to note in yesterday's  
"Congressional Record" the extension of your remarks  
which included a copy of my recent article in "Our  
Sunday Visitor" on communism.

It was exceedingly kind of you to take  
this action, and I am most grateful for your very  
favorable comments regarding my stand against athe-  
istic communism. Likewise, I am honored that you  
feel my observations on this matter are deserving of  
this special attention.

With kind personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



REC-17

EX-135

JAN 23 1959

JAN 22 1 20 PM '59  
REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI

NOTE: Relations with Senator Thurmond are favorable. Letter of same  
date being sent to [REDACTED] of "Our  
Sunday Visitor" with a copy of the excerpt from the "Congressional Record."

CBF:cjc  
(3)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W C Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

b7C  
b6

b6  
b7C

## Youth, Communist Target

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. STROM THURMOND**

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 21, 1959

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, J. Edgar Hoover is always willing to warn

the citizens of our country to beware of communism. One of the most recent examples of this is a column in Our Sunday Visitor of Sunday, January 18, entitled "Youth, Communist Target."

Mr. Hoover does not mince words in his warnings. The Communist movement is seeking out the young, impressionable people of the country, realizing that they are most apt to believe their misleading statements about a better world under communism.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Hoover's latest contribution to the opponents of communism be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### YOUTH, COMMUNIST TARGET (By J. Edgar Hoover)

The English statesman, Burke, said, "Tell me what are the prevailing sentiments that occupy the minds of your young men, and I will tell you what is to be the character of the next generation." Goethe, the German poet and philosopher, expressed much the same thought in these words: "The destiny of any nation, at any given time, depends on the opinions of its young men under 5 and 20."

Today's youth are tomorrow's future. No one is more acutely aware of this fact than are the Communist conspirators—and no one is more eager to exploit the idealism, enthusiasm, credulity, and inexperience of youth than are they. Lenin pointed the way in his words: "We need young forces . . . The youth will decide the issue of the whole struggle, the student youth and still more the working class youth."

There has been no deviation. At this moment—all about the earth—the Communists are striving to make youth the key by which they can open the door and force the whole of mankind across the threshold of a Communist world.

To bring about this end, Communists the world over are taking advantage of two fundamental facts: the urge to experiment and improve which is common to idealistic and enthusiastic youth, and the present condition of the world.

All of us must recognize the idealism of youth—the great dreams, hopes, and aspirations which are the impetus to action. This eager idealism of the young insists on perfection, and this is a good thing for it is the spur which helps eliminate injustice. But idealism, without the checkreins of knowledge and sound judgment, may take one on a short cut to disaster.

There is always an element of rebellion against authority in the young. Every child is eager to reach the age when he can make his own decisions—when he doesn't have to do what he is told. And that which is new and novel holds great appeal for the immature, rebellious youth particularly if it differs from traditions.

Communists know that innovations appeal to the young, and they know that the more idealistic youth can be trapped by the emotional appeal of a cause presented with crusading spirit and zeal.

In past decades, the Communists have captured the minds of thousands of inexperienced youth by presenting a wholly false picture of a brave new world, while, at the same time, their most intense efforts were bent toward the creation of a menacing totalitarian monster.

This brazen and cynical exploitation of the wonderful traits of youth is one of the most vicious aspects of the whole conspiracy to enslave and dominate the world. But despite their best efforts, the Communists

cannot keep the false curtain entirely closed to inquiring young minds. The freedom fighters of Hungary and a Russian poet, in their own way, made rents through which reality shone all too briefly.

Unfortunately, the very unsettled conditions of the world today—conditions created in large part by Communist activity—help the Communist in his work of subversion. This is an age of great social change. And change—the breaking of the moorings of parental control, and the breaking with past traditions—makes it much easier for exploiters to ridicule and destroy the principles, standards and morals which have proved the safeguards of freedom throughout history.

The complete amorality of the convinced Communist enables him to take full advantage of the proneness of youth to relinquish the stable moorings of principle and tradition. The young mariner too often sets sail with false charts to steer by and a false star to guide his course.

And make no mistake about it. Every child in America is an ultimate target of Communist effort in some form or other. Students and young workers, particularly those in industry, are objects of concentrated propaganda effort. This effort is extremely subtle. It consists in large part of a ceaseless, relentless campaign against our American way of life, our ideals, culture, laws, morality, religions, traditions, principles, customs, and institutions.

It seeks to destroy the respect of the young for all of these things which are termed by the Communists "petty bourgeois ideologies and influences."

It seeks to eliminate—often by means of ridicule—that patriotic love of country which at Valley Forge held a ragged, barefoot army together in a cause that many times seemed hopeless.

It seeks to weaken character, destroy individualism, and create a mass man who will offer little resistance to Communist collectivism.

Much Communist propaganda directed at youth feature a pacifist, antimilitarist theme. This, of course, is calculated to weaken the military potential of the United States.

By every possible means, propagandists seek to present the false face of communism to inexperienced youth.

They not only seek the college campus as a forum, but they also strive with every means at their command to place Marxist members in sound, wholesome youth groups for the purpose of influencing and subverting nonparty youth.

Again and again Communist functionaries have indicated that they consider the assignment of party members to work among teenagers as vital. Every youth organization is a target. No group is immune.

One instance we learned of the formation of a Communist-dominated youth group which had, as its main purpose, the infiltration of two specific organizations.

In another instance we learned of an individual boasting that he had succeeded in turning a youngster, met through a sound youth organization, away from the latter's religion and had nursed him along to the threshold of communism.

We are beginning to learn how the Communist conspirators exploit the natural idealism of youth to advance an unnatural brutal and godless tyranny. How do we propose to meet such a challenge here at the threshold of the nuclear age?

It is our responsibility to recognize and to understand the forces motivating our youth. Confronting the same conditions which Communists use in exploiting youth for evil ends, we must, in a positive and dynamic fashion, direct the same forces to serve the ends of justice, truth, and freedom.

The future belongs to youth. If the world

of the future is to be a free one—a wholesome one, in which the word "justice" has meaning—we must offer nourishing food to build the minds and characters of youth. We must implant sound ideas, hold forth high standards, and develop the ideals essential to the preservation of freedom. We must teach true values and instill necessary disciplines. We must, by example, help our youth live up to—and preserve—the spiritual heritage which is the birthright of every American.

Our Republic is predicated upon the premise that extraordinary qualities exist in ordinary people and that freedom of opportunity enables those qualities to develop and flourish. This is traceable to the creativeness inherent in Christian metaphysics. It is the direct antithesis of the quality of negation which marks the Communist philosophy.

In no area of living can the spirit of man soar skyward when it is chained to earth by an ideology which denies man either soul or spirit.

What is to be the character of the next generation? Goethe said that the destiny of any nation depends on the opinions of its youth under 25. There is no question but that this vital group is a direct target of intense Communist endeavor. How are we going to meet that challenge?

let to Sen. Thurmond (oral)  
1/22/59  
CBP  
let to Ensign (oral)  
1/22/59  
CBP

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. D. J. Parsons

DATE February 9, 1959

FROM : W. D. Griffith

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [redacted]

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Trotter	_____
Clayton	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

SUBJECT SENATOR STROM THURMOND  
(D-SOUTH CAROLINA)  
REQUEST FOR TYPEWRITING EXAMINATION

By memorandum dated February 4, 1959, from Mr. DeLoach to Mr. Tolson, there was submitted to the Laboratory the evidence listed below with a request for a typewriter examination:

- Q1 An envelope addressed to "Mr. Strom Thurmond" postmarked "Columbia, S. C." and accompanying letter beginning "An ingrate is likely..." and ending "...all day Sunday."
- K1 A small piece of white paper bearing typewritten material beginning "Thank you for your..." and ending "...Sincerely yours,."

From the examination of the typewriting submitted, it has been determined that specimens Q1 and K1 were prepared on the same typewriter.

Specimens Q1 and K1 are attached hereto. These specimens have not been photographed.

RECOMMENDATION: That this memorandum and its attachments be forwarded to the Crime Records Division for the attention of Mr. DeLoach.

Enclosures (2)

D-299159 DG

SWM:dan (4)

REC-133

6 FEB 11 1959

CRIME

b6  
b7c

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

299159

TO : MR. TOLSON

DATE: February 4 1959

FROM :

C. D. DELOACH

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

SUBJECT:

SENATOR STROM THURMOND  
(D-SOUTH CAROLINA)REQUEST FOR HANDWRITING EXAMINATION  
TYPE WRITING

Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

[REDACTED] of Senator Thurmond's office dropped by to see me on February 4, 1959, and stated the Senator was somewhat concerned over two letters he had received from the State of South Carolina. The Senator believes they were both written by the same person on the same typewriter. One letter expresses understanding as to why the Senator could not leave his office to attend a hospital dedication in South Carolina. The second letter was sent anonymously and is extremely sarcastic. Senator Thurmond believes that a former employee in his office wrote these letters.

[REDACTED] explained that Senator Thurmond had no intentions whatsoever of instituting a civil suit, neither does he plan to make known the identity of the individual who wrote the letters. He would like, however, for his future guidance and information, to ascertain if both letters were typed from the same typewriter. The Senator told [REDACTED] the main reason he wanted to know this was so that he could keep his guard up in the future.

It is suggested this memorandum with the attachments be forwarded to the FBI's Laboratory and that an examination be conducted to ascertain if both documents were written on the same typewriter. I will advise the Senator in strict confidence of the results of this examination.

Enclosures (2) to [REDACTED]  
1 - Mr. Parsons

CDD:ejp

(3)

ENCLOSURE

2/19/59  
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66 FEB 17 1959

REC-133

62-52076-32

FEB 11 1959

CRIME REC.



D-299159 DG

Q spec Q<sup>sup</sup> d S<sup>sup</sup> t<sup>sup</sup> i<sup>sup</sup> c<sup>sup</sup> e<sup>sup</sup> e<sup>sup</sup>

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

R spec ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓

b6  
b7C

Q spec Shent K spec

2/9  
JWH

62-52026-32

ENCLOSURE

April 17, 1959

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

Honorable Strom Thurmond  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

All of us in the FBI were deeply grateful upon noting in the "Congressional Record" of Thursday, April 16, 1959, your insertion of the article "A Larger Embezzlement" which was issued by the Executive Committee of the National Association of Bankers, Accountants, and Comptrollers.

We are deeply appreciative of your very kind remarks made in introducing the article into the Record. These remarks, plus the facts in the mentioned article, will undoubtedly do a great deal to clarify the scurrilous smear attacks constantly launched against us by the communists. Your support and that of the National Association of Bankers, Accountants, and Comptrollers mean a great deal to us in carrying out our heavy responsibilities.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely yours,  
J. Edgar Hoover

ENCLOSURE

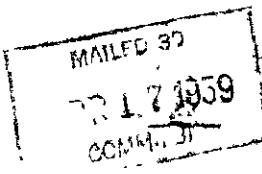
CDD:FML  
(4)

1 - Mr. Jones (sent direct)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W C Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

APR 17 1 40 PM '59  
REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI



REC-27

APR 20 1959

135

APR 23 1959

62-12026-33

## Bureau of Investigation

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 16, 1959

Mr THURMOND Mr President, I ask that a very well-expressed article entitled, "A Larger Embezzlement," issued by the executive committee of the National Association of Bankers, Accountants, and Comptrollers, paying tribute to the Federal Bureau of Investigation and its renowned Director, J Edgar Hoover, be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows

## A LARGER EMBEZZLEMENT

Most of us think only in financial terms when we speak of robberies, burglaries, and embezzlements. Banks have been victimized in unprecedented numbers in years past.

In these years the Federal Bureau of Investigation, under its renowned Director, J Edgar Hoover, has handled such cases in its jurisdiction in a prompt, impartial, and efficient manner. Evidence of this is found in the nearly 97 percent convictions obtained in Federal courts of persons prosecuted in FBI bank cases.

But embezzlements and robberies are not restricted to money. There are those who embezzle the rights and privileges of US citizenship and would rob others of their good name. The Communists are actively engaged in just this type of activity.

For years the Communists have had as a basic goal the destruction of the FBI and the discrediting of Mr Hoover. A vicious smear campaign of innuendos, misinterpretations, and falsehoods is being conducted.

The Communist press is being joined by others not so readily recognized as subverters or embezzlers of our democratic processes. They are attempting to perpetuate a fraud on the American people.

Every banker must be made aware of what is going on. We must develop our diligence to prevent this broader type of embezzlement to the same degree as in our own institutions. Furthermore, we must become vocal and active in our defense of the FBI and J Edgar Hoover, its Director. The Bureau with its outstanding record has contributed much in protecting the democratic way of life without which private banking cannot exist.

We in National Association of Bankers, Accountants, and Comptrollers are proud and appreciative of all the splendid efforts the FBI has expended toward helping to curtail bank robberies and embezzlements. The FBI and National Association of Bankers, Accountants, and Comptrollers are both interested in the protection of banks and our way of life, and it is our strong feeling that the Bureau's efforts and services, in all its activities, should in no way be curtailed.

Remember, private banking cannot exist in a Communist state.

ENCLOSURE

THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD  
APRIL 16, 1959

*Let's Thurmond one (sc1)  
4-17-59  
DWB*

62-52026-

32

*SnurB/p*

*(S.T.)* Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

FROM : J. P. Mohr

SUBJECT The Congressional Record

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY

b6  
b7c

*March 19 1959*  
*Stream Thurmond*

Pages 3998-4001 Senator Talmadge, (D) Georgia, requested to have printed in the Record the statement by Senator Thurmond, (D) South Carolina, before the Senate Constitutional Rights Subcommittee on March 18, 1959, in opposition to the pending civil rights bills. The references to the FBI contained in Senator Thurmond's statement were set forth in an earlier memorandum.

Original filed in:

*66-1731-1613*

*162-52026 -*  
NOT RECORDED

141 APR 21 1959

*173*  
52 APR 6 1959

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for *Wed, March 18, 1959* was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: May 25, 1959

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]SUBJECT: SENATOR STROM THURMOND (D. - SOUTH CAROLINA)  
REQUEST FOR DIRECTOR TO PARTICIPATE IN  
FIVE MINUTE RADIO PROGRAM AND  
TWO MINUTE TELEVISION PROGRAMRosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W C Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

[REDACTED] Senator Strom

Thurmond, called 5-22-59. Senator Thurmond would like very much for the Director to join him at any time convenient in the future in making a five minute radio program and two minute television program. Both programs would be of the interview type and could be done at the same time in the Senate Recording Studio. The stations which carry the programs featuring Senator Thurmond cover South Carolina, North Carolina and Georgia.

b7C  
b6

I told [REDACTED] that the Director's schedule was such at this time that it was impossible for him to accept further commitments of this nature. He indicated that Senator Thurmond would understand but in the event the Director could find time he would certainly appreciate being advised.

b7C  
b6ACTION:

For record purposes.

1 - Mr. Jones

CDD:sak  
(3)

MAY 26 1959

53 MAY 29 1959

CRIME REC.

RICHARD B RUSSELL GA CHAIRMAN

ATTY GEN TO TELL MARR  
L E A S  
A T T E S T  
C L E K  
N C G D SC  
CALIN  
T H LAUKA  
KIMON, MPV

HARRY L WINGATE, JR., CHIEF CLERK

Mr.	P
Mr	P
Mr	P
Mr	P
Mr	P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover

An article which was issued by the Executive Committee of the National Association of Bankers, Accountants, and Comptrollers has come to my attention. I wholeheartedly agree with the sentiments expressed in the article, and for that reason had it inserted in the Appendix to The Record.

I am enclosing herewith a copy of The Record and thought you might like to have The article type in The Record of April 16 on page A312b

With best wishes,

sincerely,

Strong, John W.

ST 0

enclosure

P. S. I have just received your letter of April 11.  
I appreciate your kindness.

S. T.

162-520  
NOT RECORDED  
176 APR 28 1959

APR 27 1959

67 APR 30 1959

ORIGINAL FILED IN 94-1-241-241

July 2, 1959

Honorable Strom Thurmond  
United States Senate  
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Senator:

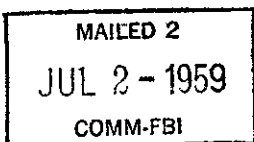
It was indeed kind of you to extend your remarks in the "Congressional Record" of July 1, 1959, to include the resolution adopted by the Reserve Officers Association on June 26 in support of the activities of this Bureau.

The trust and confidence which you have consistently demonstrated in our organization have been a source of great encouragement to my associates and me, and I want you to know that we are all deeply grateful. Please do not fail to let me know if ever the occasion arises when we can be of service.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



NOTE: We have enjoyed very favorable relations with Senator Thurmond, and his name appears on the Special Correspondents' List.

ENCLOSURE

WHS:cr  
(3)

DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
FBI  
COMM-FBI

REC- 58

EX - 124

23 JUL 6 1959

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W C Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

60 JUL 9 1959

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

JUL 7 2 46 PM '59  
FBI  
READING ROOM

Resolution of Reserve Officers Association  
on FBI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS  
OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 1, 1959

Mr THURMOND Mr President, the Reserve Officers' Association of the United States, one of the most patriotic organizations in our country, has recognized that the Federal Bureau of Investigation is being subjected to a storm of unjust criticism from subversive and uninformed groups. The Reserve Officers Association on June 26 adopted a resolution expressing wholehearted support for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, its director, agents, policies, and operations. I ask unanimous consent that a copy of the resolution be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Whereas the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the U S Department of Justice is under unjust criticism from subversive and uninformed groups and individuals, and

Whereas the Federal Bureau of Investigation is the only authorized civilian agency of the Government of the United States to make investigations relative to the internal peacetime security of this Nation and to protect this Nation from enemy within, and

Whereas these subversive attacks have been made against the person of the Director

of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, J Edgar Hoover, as well as the membership of the FBI, with intent to smear and belittle this patriotic and high-charactered organization. Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Reserve Officers Association of the United States, assembled in conference this 26th day of June 1959, at Denver, Colo, does hereby support wholeheartedly and without reservation, the leadership of Director J Edgar Hoover, the agents, the policies, and the operations of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in its correlated activities in the defense of our country, and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the Vice President of the United States, the Speaker of the U S House, the Attorney General of the United States, the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the members of the Appropriations and Armed Forces Committees of the U S Senate and the U S House of Representatives

REAR ADM LEON J JACOBI, USNR,  
National President, Reserve Officers  
Association of the United States  
COL JOHN T CARLTON, USAR,  
Executive Director, Reserve Officers  
Association of the United States

Let to Thurmond  
oml (sc)  
7-2-59  
WHS

THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD  
JULY 1, 1959

ENCLOSURE  
62-52026-35



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE 7/15/59

FROM : SAC, Cincinnati

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]SUBJECT: HONORABLE STROM THURMOND (D)  
U. S. SENATOR FROM SOUTH CAROLINA

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. McGuire	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Parsons	
Mr. Rosen	

Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

b6  
b7C

I see that the July 1 appendix of the Congressional Record, page A 5683, contains the recent resolution passed unanimously by the Reserve Officers Association of the United States and it is observed that same was placed in the Congressional Record by Senator THURMOND.

I do not know the degree of liaison the FBI enjoys with Senator THURMOND at this time, however, it is recalled that while I was SAC at Savannah, 1948-1950, THURMOND was Governor of South Carolina and our relations with him were such that he was on a first name basis with SAC and that the SAC was welcome in both the THURMOND office and the home.

It was my experience that THURMOND was a sincere person who truly believed in his objectives and also had a high respect for the FBI. His personal characteristics and deportment were on a high plane.

Perhaps close liaison already exists with the Senator; if not, consideration should be given to establishing same. THURMOND was very close with SA [REDACTED] of Savannah Office. THURMOND's nephew is an official of the South Carolina Law Enforcement Division.

b6  
b7C

2 - Bureau  
1 - Cincinnati

EDM:pat  
(3)

cc of 7-2-59 letter to Thurmond  
sent to SAC Cincinnati  
7-22-59  
mm

EX-109

REC-18

62-52026-36

JUL 24 1959

JUL 17 1959

CRIME REC.

JUL 30 1959

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [redacted]

DO-6

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

11:00AM November 10, 1959

[redacted] in the office of Senator  
Strom Thurmond (D-S. C.)  
telephoned locally to ask a question  
concerning the Director's book,  
"Masters of Deceit." He was  
referred to Mr. Kemper.

Mr. Kemper has advised that [redacted] pointed out  
that the Senator had "run off" with their copy of "Masters  
of Deceit" and they wanted to know if there was a  
statement in the book to the effect that the communist  
party in the U. S. at its peak was stronger in numbers  
than the Soviets at the time they took over in Russia.  
He was told this was true and referred to page 5 of  
"Masters of Deceit."

jwd

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Jones \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

b7C  
b6

58 NOV 19 1959

REC-136

62-52026-37

NOV 16 1959

CRIMINAL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

Honorable Strom Thurmond  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

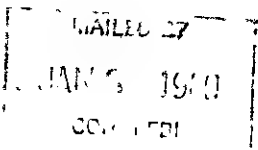
My dear Senator:

I was indeed saddened to learn of the passing  
of your wife and did want to send you this personal note  
expressing my deepest sympathy.

Words, of course, at a time such as this are  
most inadequate, but you may be sure that the thoughts of  
your many friends are with you during this period of sorrow.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



JAN 6 4 16 PM '60  
REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI

NOTE: Senator Thurmond is on the Special Correspondent's List.

son \_\_\_\_\_  
r \_\_\_\_\_  
sons \_\_\_\_\_  
mont \_\_\_\_\_  
lahan \_\_\_\_\_  
ch \_\_\_\_\_

WLD: ENCLOSURE  
(3)

REC- 92  
EX- 127

JAN 7

2-1960

ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGuire	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W C Sullivan	_____
Tele Room	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

b6  
b7C

## Senator's Wife Has Operation

Washington, Jan 5 (UPI) — Mrs. Jean Thurmond, wife of Sen. Strom Thurmond (D-S.C.), underwent surgery today for the removal of a brain tumor.

A similar operation was performed about three months ago. At that time the tumor was termed nonmalignant.

Sen. Thurmond said doctors at the National Institutes of Health told him the operation was designed "to remove pressure from the brain which the doctors are confident is being caused by a tumor."

Thurmond did not say whether it was a new growth or remnants of the old tumor.

The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Daily News 5/1 \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Post \_\_\_\_\_  
The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_  
The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
Date \_\_\_\_\_

*Let to Senator Thurmond  
1-6-60  
WHD: mhd  
Received 1/6/60  
per wire service ✓*

ENCLOSURE

JAN 6 1960

62-52026-38  
WHD

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE 1/11/60

FROM : SAC, Cincinnati

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

SUBJECT

SENATOR STROM THURMOND (Democrat)  
South Carolina  
PROPOSED LETTER

Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

b6  
b7C

There is attached for Bureau approval a letter of condolence from SAC ED MASON, Cincinnati, to Senator THURMOND, relating to the death of his second wife.

The Bureau will recall that MASON was friendly with Mr. and Mrs. THURMOND, both, while THURMOND was Governor of South Carolina, and MASON was SAC at Savannah, Georgia.

If the Bureau approves of this letter, it should be mailed.

2 - Bureau (Encl.)  
1 - Cincinnati (80-0)

EDM:ESG  
(3)

REC- 68

25 JAN 18 1960

CRIME REC.

JAN 12 1960

39

1 - Cincinnati  
Encl. detached for handling  
1-13-60  
R/S to  
Cincinnati  
1-15-60  
MAJ

15  
7 JAN 26 1960

STROM THURMOND  
SOUTH CAROLINA

## United States Senate

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Parsons	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Malone	✓
Mr. McGuire	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tamm	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Ingram	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

b6  
b7C

Dear Mr. Hoover,

Thank you for your kind expression of sympathy.  
The thoughtfulness of our friends has helped  
us all through this sad time.

God never made a finer, nobler woman, or one  
who was a more devoted companion than Jean.  
Her tragic passing has left a void in my  
life which can never be filled.

I send my deep appreciation.

Sincerely,

*Strom Thurmond*  
Strom Thurmond

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover  
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

REC- 65

62-52026-40  
18 FEB 10 1960

52 FEB 15 1960

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE 5/13/60

FROM *WBS* SAC, Savannah (80-471)ATT: CRIME RECORDS  
DIVISIONSUBJECT: STROM THURMOND  
SAC CONTACT  
SAVANNAH DIVISIONALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY b6  
b7C

*2-2*

The business address of the above-captioned SAC Contact should be shown as U. S. Post Office Building, Aiken, S. C., with business telephone MI 9-2591. His residence telephone should carry the prefix MI 9-4969. All other information is current.

- ② - Bureau  
1 - Savannah

CWB/fmt

(3)

REC-76

62-52076-  
20 MAY 16 1960CRIME RESEARCH  
*July*

*160 detacher  
Crime Research  
5-16-60  
mm*

52 JUN 9 1960

REC-14 62-52026-42

June 30, 1960

10-

Honorable Strom Thurmond  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

I have received your correspondence, with enclosure of June 24, 1960, concerning the request by [redacted] to meet with me while she is in Washington on July 19 and 20, 1960.

While this is something I would like to do, I regret that I will not be in town during this period. I would be pleased, however, if you would advise your constituent that tours of FBI Headquarters are offered daily between the hours of 9:30 a.m. and 4 p.m., Eastern Daylight Saving Time, excluding Saturdays, Sundays and holidays. Our tours last approximately one hour, and reservations are not necessary. It is suggested that persons wishing to take tours enter the Department of Justice Building at the Ninth Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, Northwest, entrance where they are welcomed by one of my representatives.

In response to your request, her letter is being returned to you.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

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r \_\_\_\_\_  
Jul \_\_\_\_\_  
Room \_\_\_\_\_

REC-14 62-52026-42

Enclosure

NOTE: Senator Thurmond is on the Special Correspondents' List. Bufiles reflecting derogatory information concerning [redacted] with whom we have had cordial correspondence, and last outgoing dated 10-12-59.

JMM:ncr (4) roa

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Enclosure

NOTE: Senator Thurmond is on the Special Correspondents' List. Bufiles reflecting derogatory information concerning [redacted] with whom we have had cordial correspondence, and last outgoing dated 10-12-59.

JMM:ncr (4) roa

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

READING ROOM

JUN 30 3 49 PM '60

b7C  
b6

b7C  
b6



*esp* *eu.6*  
**United States Senate**

June 24, 1960 *JB*

[redacted]  
Respectfully referred to

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Parsons	
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Malone	
Mr. McGuire	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tamm	
Mr. Trotter	✓
Mr. W C Sullivan	✓
Tele. Room	
Mr. Ingram	
Miss Gandy	

*maurice*

J. Edgar Hoover, Federal Bureau of Investigation

with thanks for such favorable consideration  
as the communication herewith submitted war-  
rants, and for a report thereon, to accompany  
return of inclosure.

By direction of

*Strom Thurmond*  
Strom Thurmond U S S.

If at all possible, I would appreciate it if  
you could see this lady when she comes to  
Washington.

*I shall not  
be here.*  
62-52026-42  
REC-14  
1-ENCLOSURE

7 JUL 5 1960

CORRESPONDENCE  
CORRESPONDENCE

**EXP. PROC.**  
JUN 27 1960

*encl (scr)  
ab 6-30-60  
JMM*

*original not returned*

June 21, 1960  
Taylors, S. C.

Senator Strom Thurmond  
Senate Office Building  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Senator Thurmond,

Before continuing with the purpose of this letter, may I offer my sincere congratulations upon your re-election as South Carolina's U. S. Senator. I know you will serve the people of So. Carolina well in the future as you have in the past. My prayers will always be with you. God love you and guide you in all things.

[REDACTED] You may recall our having being introduced [REDACTED] during your speaking campaign while in Greenville. Upon our meeting, I asked, if possible, while in Washington this summer, if I could attend some hearings of the House Un-American Activities, if in session at the time. I would also like very much to meet Congressman Francis Walter and J. Edgar Hoover and thank them personally for what they have done and are doing to protect this wonderful God-given country of ours and its people.

Would all this be possible? I shall be in Washington, July 19th and 20th. I do not want to be any bother and will understand if arrangements cannot be made.

Thanking you for all and awaiting anxiously for your answer I am,

Most sincerely yours,

[REDACTED]

COPY  
hs

ended 6/22/60 hsl

62-554026-412  
ENCLOSURE

b7C  
b6

b7C  
b6

November 9, 1960

PERSONAL

Honorable Strom Thurmond  
United States Senator  
Aiken, South Carolina

My dear Senator:

You have the heartiest congratulations  
of your many friends in the FBI upon the occasion of  
your re-election to the United States Senate.

My associates and I join in the hope  
that your efforts in serving your constituents will  
meet with every success, and we trust you will not  
hesitate to call upon us whenever we can be of  
service.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,  
J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 10

COMM FBI

1 - Savannah

NOTE: Thurmond is on the Special Correspondents' List.

CBF:lcl (5)

62 NOV 22 1960

NOV 17 1960

RICHARD B. RUSSELL, GA., CHAIRMAN  
HARRY FLOOD BYRD, VA.  
JOHN STENNIS, MISS.  
STUART SYMINGTON, MO.  
HENRY M. JACKSON, WASH.  
SAM J. ERVIN, JR., N.C.  
STROM THURMOND, S.C.  
CLAIR ENGLE, CALIF.  
E. L. BARTLETT, ALASKA  
HOWARD W. CANNON, NEV.  
ROBERT C. BYRD, W. VA.

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, MASS.  
STYLES BRIDGES  
MARGARET CHASE SMITH, MAINE  
FRANCIS CASE, S. DAK.  
PRESCOTT BUSH, CONN.  
J. GLENN BEALL, MD.

HARRY L. WINGATE, JR., CHIEF CLERK

# United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

February 17, 1961

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Agent [REDACTED] of your Augusta, Georgia, office has delivered to my office in Aiken, South Carolina, a copy of your great book MASTERS OF DECEIT with a personal autograph. I appreciate this very much.

I have found your book to be very helpful to me and have needed one at each one of my two offices, so this kindness on your part is particularly appreciated.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

*Strom Thurmond*  
Strom Thurmond

ST:v

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b6

FEB 20 1961

R

REC-57 62-52026-44  
EX-113  
12 FEB 23 1961

No file  
52 FEB 28 1961

RICHARD B. RUSSELL, GA., CHAIRMAN  
 HARRY FLOOD BYRD, VA  
 JOHN STENNIS, MISS  
 STUART SYMINGTON, MO  
 HENRY M. JACKSON, WASH  
 SAM J. ERVIN, JR., N.C.  
 STROM THURMOND, S.C.  
 CLAIR ENGLE, CALIF.  
 E. L. BARTLETT, ALASKA  
 HOWARD W. CANNON, NEV.  
 ROBERT E. BYRD, W. VA

LEVERETT SALYER, MASS  
 STYLES BRIDGE, N.H.  
 MARGARET CHASE SMITH, MAINE  
 FRANCIS CASE, ILL.  
 PRESCOTT BUSH, CONN.  
 J. GLENN BEALL, MD

HARRY L. WINGATE, JR., CHIEF CLERK

# United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

July 28, 1961

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
 Federal Bureau of Investigation  
 Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I am attaching a copy of my newsletter for next week. In view of the fact that I mention your name in the newsletter, I thought that you might like to have a copy.

I am also attaching a copy of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for July 26, 1961. Beginning on page 12607 is an address in which I also refer to you and the F.B.I. on a few occasions.

I thought you might like to look this material over.

I know of your dedicated effort against the communist conspiracy, and I would appreciate your advising me at any time of anything I can do to assist you, either overtly or covertly.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

*Strom Thurmond*

Strom Thurmond

ST:ds

Enclosures

EX 104

REC-29

62-52026-45

ENCLOSURE BEHIND FILE

2 ENCLOSURE

SEP 7 1961

8-28  
 JUL 31 1961

XEROX  
 SEP 9 1961

JUL 31 1961

36

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 b7C

# SENATOR STROM THURMOND Reports TO THE PEOPLE

## The Right to Know Our Enemy

ONE OF THE most disturbing and potentially disastrous conspiracies being conducted today is the movement to discredit and discourage our military leaders from their efforts to inform the public and their military personnel of the dangers posed to our liberties and our survival by the insidious forces of world communism. The movement originated with the communists in THE WORKER, official news organ of the Communist Party, USA, has been boosted by TASS and PRAVDA, and then picked up by the welfare staters in this country.

I HAVE OUTLINED to the Senate in a detailed speech the workings of this conspiracy and my unalterable opposition to a memorandum by the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee calling for



muzzling our military leaders in their statements, speeches, and seminars to prevent discussion of the principal threat which communism poses to our country—the threat of internal subversion and welfare statism. In addition, I have written a letter to the President and the Secretary of Defense in an effort to counter the effect this memorandum and a Defense Department directive have already had in intimidating and muzzling these dedicated military leaders.

THE COMMUNISTS, of course, want no criticism as to their aims, goals, and threats to America. They would love nothing better than to lull us further into the deep socialist sleep into which America is slipping more and more every day. The welfare staters, on the other hand, are generally willing to admit that there is a threat posed to America by the military might of the Soviet Union. Some will even admit further that the Soviets have as their aim Mr. Lenin's announced purpose to make the Soviets the "gravediggers, heirs, and successors to the governments of the world."

THEY WILL NOT, however, face up—and they do not want the American people to face up either—to the graver threat of world communism—that is, the internal threat of subversion and gradually falling under the spell of domestic socialism and welfare statism. If Americans were fully

informed on the inter-relationship of communism and socialism and welfare statism and also the threat of internal subversion, then the welfare staters' "humanitarian" schemes would go out the window with "share the wealth" advocates in elected and government jobs and other positions of power and influence in America.

MR. KHRUSHCHEV has told us that our "grandchildren will live under socialism." He had told the world further:

"We cannot expect the Americans to jump from capitalism to communism, but we can assist their elected leaders in giving Americans small doses of socialism until they suddenly awake to find they have communism."

OUR MILITARY leaders would be blind if they did not recognize, and derelict in their duty if they did not state, that communism is a total enemy which constitutes a much broader threat in its total nature than that exclusively comprised by Red armed forces. Indeed, the gains by communism over peoples and territories have stemmed not primarily from military action but from other methods they have resorted to—and, indeed, from our own softness, naivete, and appeasement of them.

FBI DIRECTOR J. Edgar Hoover has warned that communism can take over in America and that this can be accomplished with only a small number of communists, as happened in Russia, China, and elsewhere. He has admonished us further that "we cannot hope to successfully meet the communist menace unless there is a wide knowledge of its aims and designs."

OUR MILITARY leaders are trained to know their enemy, every facet of his capability for success. In the Defense Department among military personnel lies the real bastion of knowledge and understanding of the communist threat, an understanding and knowledge long since lacking in the White House, State Department and some other government agencies.

MILITARY PERSONNEL and the American public must be fully informed on this deadly menace. If given the facts—all the facts—the American people can be trusted to make the correct assessment of the threat and how to combat it best in the many ways still available to us. Suppression of the military's dissemination of this knowledge would be disastrous and completely out of keeping with American traditions.

Sincerely,

*Strom Thurmond*

(Not printed at government expense)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO Mr. Mohr

DATE August 10, 1961

FROM C. D. DeLoach

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]SUBJECT MILITARY SEMINARS  
CONTROVERSY IN CONGRESS

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
 Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

There has been considerable publicity, particularly in the "Washington Post and Times Herald," and copies of numerous speeches in the "Congressional Record" relative to the captioned matter. Briefly, as to background, Senator J. W. Fulbright (D-Ark.), Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, forwarded a document to the military protesting the holding of anticommunist seminars by military personnel. The chief basis of his complaint seemed to be that military personnel should speak only regarding military affairs and not concern themselves with international matters. He also intimated that in recent speeches by the military, there had been criticism of a "welfare state," i.e., the lack of initiative on the part of individuals was causing a strong trend towards socialism which eventually would result in communism. Fulbright felt that this was criticism of the Administration and should not be allowed on the part of the military.

Senators Styles Bridges (R-NH), Karl E. Mundt (R-SDak.) Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) and Strom Thurmond (D-SC) have been the chief critics of Fulbright. They have made numerous speeches on the Floor of the Senate bitterly criticizing Fulbright and the military. Fulbright was criticized for his edict while the military was criticized for obeying the edict and canceling numerous of their seminars. Senator Mundt, in particular, has been very critical of Fulbright and the military. On a number of occasions, he has strongly made the point that the military is well educated as to international affairs by the very virtue of their assignments; consequently, they should be allowed to speak as representatives of a free people.

The President, today in a press conference, sided with Fulbright in connection with a memorandum sent to the military.

There have been strong overtones of suspicion on the Hill indicating that [REDACTED] who is known to have a communist front background and [REDACTED] a number of communist front organizations and has associated with communists, is apparently leading the fight in the Pentagon to stifle the military seminars. The Senators have no substantiation of this but firmly believe it is a fact in view of [REDACTED] background. [REDACTED]

1 - Mr. Belmont  
 1 - Mr. Sullivan

1 - Mr. Jones

SENT DIRECTOR  
 8-11-61

CDD:geg  
 (5)

62-52020-  
 RECORDED  
 23 AUG 22 1961  
 (CONTINUED NEXT PAGE)  
 22 AUG 21 1961  
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 3 - PEROT  
 AUG 22 1961  
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64 SEP 1 1961

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ORIGINAL FILED 62-10722

DeLoach to Mohr memo  
Re: Military Seminars  
Controversy in Congress

Senator Strom Thurmond requested me to see him in his office at 12:30 p.m. today. The Senator was attending a meeting of the Senate Armed Forces Committee upon my arrival. His two top assistants, [redacted] [redacted] desired to talk with me until the Senator arrived. [redacted] explained that Senator Thurmond plans to carry on a campaign in connection with the above-mentioned matter. The Senator feels that the State Department [redacted] and the military have "sacked" numerous programs which have allowed the communists to gain the upper hand. [redacted] explained that Senator Thurmond's actions in revealing Fulbright's edict to the military on the Floor of the Senate raised considerable support for Senator Thurmond's position. His mail has been extremely heavy and very favorable.

b2  
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b6

[redacted] stated the Senator will need considerable help and that much of this assistance will be coming from the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee who undoubtedly will be holding an investigation into State [redacted] and Pentagon affairs within the near future. The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee staff members met [redacted] on Tuesday of this week in order to give them careful coaching and guidance as to how the campaign should be conducted.

b2  
b7C  
b6

[redacted] stated that with the Director's tremendous prestige, the Director could obviously be of great assistance to their cause if the Director were to issue a statement defending the Senator's position. I told [redacted] this could not be done, that it would be unheard of, and most presumptuous, for the Director of the FBI to criticize the affairs of other agencies, or the Administration, in such a manner. [redacted] next inquired if the FBI could be of assistance in giving them information on a confidential basis. I told them we could not, that this was a controversy that we could not be mixed up in and he, therefore, would have to look toward the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and the House Committee on Un-American Activities for assistance.

b7C  
b6

At this moment, Senator Thurmond entered the office. He asked that his respects be paid to the Director and expressed appreciation for the many favors done his office in recent years. He then explained in confidence that he was not out to "get" Fulbright, however, that he was after a much greater objective, that of weeding out the State Department [redacted] and the Pentagon and uncovering a considerable

b2

✓  
(CONTINUED NEXT PAGE)



DeLoach to Mohr memo  
Re: Military Seminars  
Controversy in Congress

number of "messes" which had allowed communism to gain the upper hand throughout the world. The Senator stated that he, of course, could not advise Senator Richard B. Russell (D-Ga.), the Chairman of the Senate Armed Forces Committee, of his plans inasmuch as Russell might immediately call up a resolution which he, Senator Thurmond, desired to have passed. This resolution calls for an investigation of the State Department [redacted] and the military by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. In the event the resolution is called up for consideration by the Senate Armed Forces Committee too soon, Senator Thurmond will not have had time to garner enough votes to insure passage. b2

Senator Thurmond did not ask for any assistance, was very pleasant in conversation and stated that he merely desired to advise us of his plans for the future. I told him that while we appreciated his sincerity, I felt sure he understood our position and that we, of course, would have to maintain a strict hands-off policy regarding this controversy. The Senator stated he understood our position.

ACTION:

This matter will be closely followed.

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

UNITED STATES

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

TO The Director

DATE *AUGUST 4, 1961*

FROM N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT The Congressional Record

*5/12*  
Pages 13317-13319. Senator Bridges, (R) New Hampshire, spoke concerning the memorandum on propaganda activities of military personnel put out by the Foreign Relations Committee. Senator Mondt, (R) South Dakota, requested to have several editorials on this subject included with Mr. Bridges' remarks. An editorial entitled "Anti-Communists Often Labeled as Radicals" contained the following: "The danger is that some of the most effective foes of communism are being silenced by a gag imposed on military leaders, *Steph* *Harmond* charged. A civilian parallel is the all-out liberal assault on organizations which conduct aggressive anti-Communist programs—including the FBI, the House Un-American Activities Committee, and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee."

Original filed in 66-1731-7111

162-52026-  
NOT RECORDED  
102 AUG 30 1961

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for *AUGUST 3, 1961* was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

66 SEP 1 1961

UNITED STATES GC

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

TO The Director

DATE

August 1, 1961

FROM N. P. Callahan

b6  
b7c

SUBJECT The Congressional Record

Pages 13170-13178. <sup>STROM</sup> Senator Thurmond, (D) South Carolina, spoke again on the attack carried on by the Communist Party, U. S. A., in its official news organ, the Worker, against the anti-Communist indoctrination of the American public and military personnel. Senator Thurmond included with his remarks the text of a memorandum dated March 10, 1961, from the Deputy Secretary of Defense to the Secretaries of the Army, Navy and Air Force with regard to the film "Operation Abolition" and the establishment of centralized procedures for evaluating materials designed for indoctrination of personnel of the Defense Department in the general area of international affairs and related fields. This memorandum mentions a film produced by the Office of Armed Forces Information and Education covering the tactics employed by Communists seeking to manipulate youth. The memorandum states "This film is being produced within the framework of material set forth in the House Committee on Un-American Activities print entitled 'Communist Target-Youth,' report by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation." On page 13174, Senator Goldwater, (R) Arizona, pointed out "I think it is high time those in high positions in the U. S. Government began to learn the nature of communism. - - - They ought to read some books that are pretty tough reading, but are honest reading. Some of them ought to learn more about what is taking place in our own country—people of influence, who see no insidious danger from the some 13,000 Communists whom John Edgar Hoover has to watch 1 hour a day." Page 13177, Senator Thurmond submitted an article from the Washington Post entitled "Pentagon Clears Communism Film." The article deals with the Defense Department's position in connection with the film "Operation Abolition." The article stated "A recent Defense Department directive, however, put the service-owned copies of 'Abolition' in an 'on call' status which means that servicemen cannot be ordered to attend showing of the film." Mr. Thurmond stated "I have previously stated, an investigation of this matter is badly needed. By all means, the investigation should include an inquiry into the reasons for and the origin of the Defense Department's action on the film 'Operation Abolition,' to the accuracy and validity of which the FBI has certified."

Original filed in 66-1731-2005

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for July 31, 1961 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

62-52026-

NOT RECORDED

102 AUG 1, 1961

66 AUG 17 1961 82

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

TO The Director

DATE 1 / 24,

b6  
b7C

FROM N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT The Congressional Record

*ST*  
*file*  
*STON*  
Page A3655. Senator ~~Strom~~ Thurmond, (D) South Carolina, extended his remarks to include an editorial from the Charleston (South Carolina) News and Courier of May 16, 1961, entitled "Public Should Protest Activities of Groups Urging Appeasement." The editorial states "All the signs point to a mammoth coordinated campaign to get the U. S. Government to adopt a soft posture toward world communism at the very time the Soviet Union and its allies are making enormous gains in Cuba and Laos. - - - Alien forces are at work in this country. The President should call on the FBI to probe every one of these pre-Castro and antimuclear weapons groups. The American people should counter the appeasers' campaign by a campaign of their own, by writing to the President and their Congressmen expressing indignation at those who counsel surrender."

Original filed in 66-1731

62-52026-  
NOT RECORDED  
102 JUL 6 1961

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 11/23/61 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

56 JUN 13 1961

July 28, 1961

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

Honorable Strom Thurmond  
United States Senate  
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Senator:

I have had the pleasure of reading your comments concerning the activities of the Communist Party, USA, which appeared in the July 26 issue of the "Congressional Record."

It is indeed good of you to call the attention of the readers of the "Record" to my remarks concerning problems we face in the field of internal security. Your very generous references regarding this Bureau and me were kind, and I want to express my sincere appreciation to you.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

1 - M. A. Jones - Enclosure (Sent Direct)

SENT TO THE  
DIRECTOR  
FOR SIGNATURE  
AND MAILING

NOTE: Senator Thurmond is on the Special Correspondents' List. Senator Thurmond's presentation was telephonically called to the Bureau's attention by [REDACTED].

[REDACTED] is a former Special Agent who EOD 6-14-54 resigned 10-12-56, services satisfactory.

HHA:jka

(4)

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

b7C  
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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. Mohr

FROM : C. D. DeLoach *DeLoach*Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_SUBJECT: CONGRESSMAN JAMES C. DAVIS (D. - GA.)  
REGARDING 2-23-21 LETTER FROM DIRECTOR TO  
W. L. HURLEY, UNDERSECRETARY OF STATE  
MENTIONING [REDACTED] *EEH 10-1*

Congressman James C. Davis (D. - Ga.), over the years, has been a strong supporter of the FBI.

At 3:30 p.m., 9-6-61, [REDACTED] to Congressman Davis, telephoned my office and in my absence talked [REDACTED]. She said the Congressman would like to have the FBI obtain and give to Congressman Davis a Photostat of a letter written by Mr. Hoover dated 2-23-21. This letter, she stated, is in National Archives, in Department of State files and was written by Mr. Hoover in 1921 when Special Assistant to the Attorney General and addressed to Mr. W. L. Hurley, the Undersecretary of State. It has to do, she said, with the dissemination of Bolshevik propaganda and names [REDACTED] as one of the persons known to be active in the movement. She stated the letter could be found in National Archives in the section captioned "1910-1929" and the decimal number is 861.00-8795.

[REDACTED] told her he did not know whether such letter could be made available, he doubted it, but a check would be made.

As you recall, the memorandum from Mr. Jones to me dated 9-5-61 captioned Senator Strom Thurmond related to the same matter wherein [REDACTED] was said to have directed the letter to Senator Thurmond 7-15-61 enclosing a copy of the 2-23-21 letter by the Director. [REDACTED] is endeavoring to obtain a Photostat of the original document and wanted the Senator's assistance. [REDACTED] referred the matter to us.

The matter has come up before early this year. It was determined that [REDACTED] had been searching State Department files in the Archives more than 25 years old. [REDACTED] came upon the letter which had not been removed prior to making such files available to [REDACTED]. Archives has denied access to copies of the letter under existing regulations.

1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. JonesREW:sak  
5)  
62 SEP 18 1961NOT RECORDED  
191 SEP 13 1961

SEE RECOMMENDATION NEXT PAGE

4 XEROX  
SEP 13 1961

CRIME RESEARCH

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b6

ORIGINAL FILED IN 94-38448-45

DeLoach to Mohr 9-7-61  
Re: Congressman James C. Davis (D. - Ga.)  
Re 2-23-21 Letter from Director to  
W. L. Hurley, Undersecretary of State,  
Mentioning [redacted]

b7C  
b6

RECOMMENDATION:

That I have [redacted] personally call on Congressman Davis with  
respect to the background of this matter and point out it is not possible to make a  
photostat of the letter in question available.

Handled  
9/8 ect  
[initials]

[initials]

[initials]

[initials]

gRC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 11-22-2004 BY

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broken down into four regional councils—those on Inter-American Affairs, Islamic Affairs, African Affairs, and Far Eastern Affairs. Our liaison with the U S Information Agency, with which we work closely, is Dr Joseph Privitera, chief program executive of its Office of Private Cooperation, whom I'd like you to meet."

He picked up the telephone, and scarcely had we had time to reflect on Dr Privitera's marvelously appropriate surname when in he came

"My job is to interest people like Roger in our program," he said "In just 4 months in office, he has come up with a type of thinking that has pleased us no end. Private people can operate more easily than the government in this field, since they have a broader franchise. For example, the USIA sends books around, but it isn't empowered to buy titles of foreign origin unless by special dispensation. The people-to-people book committee can cover the full range of the spectrum."

"If we want to send out 5,000 copies of Pasternak, we can," Mr Strauss said "We supply reading groups all over—there are hundreds of them in the Far East—and we help stock the 185 USIA libraries in foreign countries. As a rule, we buy from publishers at a price, but they sometimes give us overruns, and we also buy sheets at cost and have them bound. The H Wolff printing people have bound many of these free, as a contribution. Senator Benton has given us hundreds of sets of the Encyclopaedia Britannica. The Chinese and the Russians are grinding out books for foreign consumption like crazy, and selling them for as little as 5 cents apiece. We have to meet this competition. Each of our 33 people-to-people committees is a tax-free nonprofit organization."

Mr Straus added that his committee planned to send treatises on nursing and agriculture to Africa, and that he was in correspondence with the Soviet Writers Group in Moscow, through which he hoped to get books requested by it into the Moscow Public Library. "The Navy has been most cooperative," said Mr Straus, who is an alumnus of this armed service. "On one occasion, it delivered our books by destroyer."

#### ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT TO 11 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate concludes its business tonight, it adjourn to meet at 11 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr President, for the information of the Senate, I should like to call attention to the schedule for tomorrow and the remainder of the week.

Tomorrow at the conclusion of morning business, there will be consideration of the Executive Calendar.

Following that there will be consideration of several noncontroversial measures, Calendar Nos 563 to 583, inclusive.

Following that it is proposed that the Senate will consider Calendar No 550, S 2034, the Federal Communications Act, which will be handled by the senior

Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PAS-TORE].

Following that, it is proposed that the Senate will then consider Calendar No 399, S. 901, the oceanography bill.

Following that, it is proposed that the Senate will consider Calendar No 517, H.R. 3279, the travel and allowances bill.

Following that, it is proposed that the Senate will consider Calendar Nos 558 to 562, inclusive, relating to interstate crime.

Following that, it is anticipated that the foreign aid bill will be laid before the Senate for consideration in the latter part of this week.

Furthermore, at the first available opportunity, I hope before the usual 3 days layover of appropriations bills, we will move to consider the appropriation bills affecting independent offices and HEW.

Mr SALTONSTALL. Mr President, will the Senator yield?

Mr MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr SALTONSTALL. Does the Senator mean that the appropriation bills will come ahead of some of the others that he mentioned when their time is up so that they can be considered?

Mr MANSFIELD. It is possible.

Mr SALTONSTALL. The bills will then probably be considered this week?

Mr MANSFIELD. It is possible, but in view of the fact that certain Senators would like to look over the bills for the usual 3 days, both bills would require until Saturday. If the Senator wishes a Saturday session to handle the appropriation bills, I shall be more than glad to comply with this request.

Mr SALTONSTALL. Will the Senator yield for one additional question?

Mr MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr SALTONSTALL. Does the acting minority leader correctly understand that the nominations tomorrow will be the nominations on which there will be discussion concerning the Civil Rights Commission?

Mr MANSFIELD. There will be some discussion, yes.

Mr SALTONSTALL. Therefore those nominations will be considered?

Mr MANSFIELD. Does the Senator desire a Saturday session?

Mr ELLENDER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr ELLENDER. Can the majority leader tell us the day on which the foreign aid bill will be laid before the Senate?

Mr MANSFIELD. We hope to lay the bill before the Senate on Friday.

Mr ELLENDER. There will be no discussion at that time?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Very little.

Mr SALTONSTALL. Voting will take place next week?

Mr MANSFIELD. I presume the Senate will devote a day or so to discussion of the foreign aid bill before reaching consideration of the proposed amendments. But if the Senate convenes early enough Friday, there may be some discussion. The answer to the

question would depend on what time the bill is laid before the Senate.

Mr. ELLENDER. Does the Senator expect any votes on Friday?

Mr MANSFIELD. Not on Friday.

#### MILITARY ANTI-COMMUNIST SEMINARS AND STATEMENTS

Mr. THURMOND. Mr President, despite the fact that communism is at war with us in the United States in a protracted conflict—more total than any conflict before experienced on this planet in that it is psychological, political, economic, diplomatic, subversive, and military in nature—there is irrefutable evidence that many in our midst do not understand that we are indeed at war and that our liberties and our very survival as a nation hang in the balance. Too many, including persons in positions of high trust, neither fully realize the nature of the conflict nor the nature of the enemy which opposes us. Repeatedly, I encounter people who dismiss our lack of knowledge about the enemy with the ready assumption that everyone knows the enemy. This fact was brought home to me emphatically last Friday, when the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs, Mr Sylvester, stated on the telephone these exact words: "Oh, Senator, everyone knows the enemy."

Mr President, anyone who does know the enemy must necessarily know also that everyone does not know the enemy. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and author of "Masters of Deceit," a most knowledgeable work on communism, stated.

We cannot hope to successfully meet the Communist menace unless there is a wide knowledge and understanding of its aims and designs.

Implicit in this statement of Mr. Hoover's is the realization that there is no wide knowledge and understanding of Communist aims and designs.

The events of recent years provide unimpeachable proof that we do not understand the nature or methods of Communists and communism. Had we understood and appreciated the menace of communism, we would not today be suffering from the losses of our blind negotiations at Yalta and Potsdam. Had we understood and recognized communism when we saw it, we would never have made the mistake of officially characterizing the Red Communist Chinese as "agrarian reformers." Had we the ability to detect a Communist and a Communist movement, Castro would never have had our support in establishing a Communist dictatorship over the Cuban people 90 miles from our shores. No, Mr President, if we as a people understood communism and Communist tactics, we would never have fallen prey to subversion at the hands of Alger Hiss, the Rosenbergs, Greenglass, Fuchs, or Harry Dexter White, and the many other Communist spies and agents who were caught—not to mention the many

who remain undetected and unapprehended. Quite clearly, Mr. President, the postwar years in America prove beyond doubt that Americans, by and large, do not understand communism and its tactics.

Not only do our people need a better knowledge and understanding of communism, Mr. President, but many need more information and reverence for the principles on which our own Government is founded. If some lack an understanding of our own system, how can they appreciate the vast gulf which separates these principles from the insidious, false, and atheistic ideology which underlies the Communist menace? Concrete facts of history attest graphically to this deficiency also, Mr. President, as evidenced by the fact that 38 percent of those Americans captured by the Communists in Korea are reported to have given comfort to the enemy.

Lenin, the real architect of communism, said

It is inconceivable that communism and democracy can exist side by side in this world. Inevitably one must perish.

Mr. President, we have no alternative but to take Lenin at his word, for every act of communism since its beginning bears out the accuracy of this statement. Experience also proves that Mr. Hoover's words are just as true when he stated:

We cannot hope to successfully meet the Communist threat unless there is a wide knowledge of its aims and designs.

Mr. President, there are those among the organizations and individuals in our society who have devoted the time and effort necessary in order to compile the facts and derive the understanding essential to a thorough knowledge of the ideology and practices of communism. I regret to say that in most instances these groups and individuals are most easily identifiable by the continuous vituperative, false, and slanderous attacks upon their existence. Among them are the House Un-American Activities Committee and the Senate's own Internal Security Subcommittee. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover's effectiveness is also well demonstrated by the continuous attacks on both Mr. Hoover and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The Communists and Communist sympathizers leave no stone unturned and no he untold in their efforts to discredit these organizations and individuals.

The American people, and especially those Americans serving in uniform, possess another knowledgeable source on the nature of our Communist enemy. This source is the military leader who serves his country in uniform. This is a particularly effective source of information against communism, for it is not a source to which political motives can be easily attributed. It is a source which has a long history of patriotic and devoted service to the people of the United States and their liberty. It is a source which has proved its willingness to make the supreme sacrifice if necessary to preserve the principles of liberty on which our Government was founded.

The military of our country is now, and always has been, distinguishable from that of other nations for it is and

always has been subservient to civilian control.

The military officers of the U.S. Armed Forces are charged with defending our country from all enemies, foreign and domestic, and to this oath each man in uniform is sworn. To accomplish fealty to this oath, the military leader must know the enemy in order to defend our country against him.

Our enemy at this time is not exclusively military. He is far more—he is a political enemy, he is a psychological enemy, he is an economic enemy, he is a diplomatic enemy, he is a subversive enemy. No facet of our enemy's many-sided potential for aggression against our country can be ignored by a military leader sworn to defend the Constitution.

Since the threat is not exclusively military, a military defense alone is insufficient to meet the threat. Every American citizen must wage the war against communism in order for us to win, and one cannot wage war against communism unless he understands the nature and tactics of communism. The military leader, therefore, in order to perform the duties to which he is sworn, has the responsibility of informing, not only his troops, but the American public concerning the total nature of the Communist menace.

Indications are that our military leaders are doing an increasingly effective job in this regard. There is no question but that the Communists are feeling the pinch from the efforts of military leaders to inform their troops and the American public about communism. The best evidence takes the form of an organized campaign, originating initially with the Communists, themselves, to discredit and intimidate the military leaders of our country.

Possibly the beginnings of the attack, other than in Pravda itself, was with a slander sheet called the Overseas Weekly, which apparently has as its primary purpose the general discrediting of U.S. servicemen and their leadership in Europe, particularly those of the 24th Infantry Division. As a particular target, the Overseas Weekly undertook a campaign against the anti-Communist indoctrination course of the 24th Division and its commander at that time, Maj. Gen. Edwin Walker.

It is significant that although the Overseas Weekly has been charged with being subversive by many persons that the only investigation has been directed at General Walker and not the vicious slander sheet which dances to the tune of leftwing causes and gives its most prominent display to "girlie cheesecake" pictures and sensational GI crimes in its publication area, so near the Iron Curtain.

Despite the softly worded conclusions contained in the Department of Defense release on the General Walker incident, it is apparent that the campaign of the Overseas Weekly against the indoctrination program and General Walker was a great success for the Communists. Just how successful can be gleaned from a letter written by a company grade officer of the 24th Division to National Review and published in the May 6 issue of Na-

tional Review. I ask unanimous consent that the text of this letter as it appears in National Review be printed at point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### TEN-SHUN

GENTLEMEN: By now you will have read the distorted smear on General Walker, the 24th Division's "problue program." This battle is now joined between anti-Communists and anti-anti-Communists and as more than Walker, or the John Birch Society, I was told personally by the correspondent who launched the smear that his paper timed it to coincide with the Eichmann trial—for obvious reasons.

For your information, here is the background. The Overseas Weekly is a tabloid English-language newspaper carrying news of rapes, robbery, and other scandals affecting the military community in Europe. General Walker has, since his assignment to the 24th Division, consistently labeled the paper (called the "Oversexed Weekly" by troops) subversive to the command, since it carries news calculated to destroy loyalty, smear noncommissioned leaders, assist anti-American forces in their campaign to disunite NATO by portraying the American soldier as rowdy, disorderly, dishonest, and immoral. When the report mentioned above began telling members of the 24th Division patent lies about General Walker, the reporter was banned from military installations under division control. This made his campaign to destroy Walker personal, as well as professional.

#### ABOUT THE PRO-BLUE PROGRAM

Firstly, it is not affiliated—in any way—with the John Birch Society. It is an all-encompassing program teaching positive belief in God, American heritage, and anti-communism. It attempts to build morale within the division (with great success) by stressing the individual American soldier as the ultimate weapon in this war we are presently engaged in. The program is diversified. It contains a troop reading program which has circulated to all troops: "Masters of Deceit," by J. Edgar Hoover; "A Guide to Anti-Communist Action," by Anthony Bouscaren; "The Story of Mary Liu," by Edward Hunter; "In Every War But One," by Eugene Kinkead; "For the Skeptic," by Lyle Munson; "From Major Jordan's Diary," by George Racey Jordan; "Primer on Communism," by George W. Cronyn; and "The Life of John Birch," by Robert Welch. (On the last book, remember that it was written before Welch ever began the society of the same name, and that it tells the story of the first American casualty of the cold war—whose death was kept a secret from the American people, presumably so as not to offend the "agrarian reformers.")

The program also stresses, through all means of mass communications, the need today for personal integrity, to include a high moral code and strong religious affiliations. It supports all community projects, ranging from assistance to German orphans, to the PTA, to quasimilitary groups such as the Association of Regular Army Sergeants, the Association of the United States Army, and the Reserve Officers Association. The program is designed to strengthen every thread in the fabric of the complete man through education, patriotism, and belief in God and self.

To isolate the one book of many used in the program to insinuate that this program is influenced by Robert Welch is a savage bit of journalism. To claim that General Walker made statements over a year ago about the present administration is impossible, and to destroy this program, along with the John Birch Society, helps whom?

The issue involved is How far can the military go in teaching its soldiers why they fight, who they fight, and when the war began? Surely, if the Pro-Blue Program is not allowed to continue, and if other military units don't pick it up, then—when hot shooting wars come again—our soldiers will repeat their predecessors' mistakes if captured by the Communists.

Probably the most tragic of the sidelines to this is that the outcry against General Walker will, in most cases, be loudest from loyal Americans believing that they stand for American freedom. Yes, if a newspaper like the Overseas Weekly can remain on the newsstands to smear and destroy leaders (because of freedom of the press) then why is it wrong for a publication like American Opinion to be equally available to the troops? And, by the way, American Opinion is merely a magazine edited by Welch—it is not the organ of the John Birch Society. Also, it is not being distributed to the troops of this division and never has been.

If I sound angry it is because, in Korea, I didn't know what I was fighting for and I believe—some 10 years later—that the men wearing the bare sleeves that I wore then need to know. They need to know about Marx-Lenin-Stalin-Khrushchev, and they need to know about Patrick Henry, Alexander Hamilton, George Washington, etc. They need to know how Czechoslovakia fell—internally—and they need to know that world war three is going on at this very minute.

Don't think that the 24th Division is off witch-hunting, or that we neglect our military duties here. We have the highest enlistment rate in Europe, the lowest number of incidents, the champion marksmanship teams, and the finest military tactician for a commander that I have ever had the privilege of serving.

I think you have the background. The question is what will you do to help keep quit the Army. Because if we can't preach the Spirit of '76 in uniform, we'll have to get out to do it. But do it we will.

If you want to join us in the fight, help start a letterwriting campaign to your Congressmen, your leaders of opinion in the community, the President, and patriotic groups like the American Legion, backing the Pro-Blue Program—and you might drop General Walker a letter of encouragement, care of the 24th Infantry Division, APO 112, New York, N.Y.

I believe that this may become one of the crucial debates of our time.

Mr THURMOND Mr President, it would be hard to judge whether the campaign of the Overseas Weekly was a test for effectiveness of the general campaign to discredit military leaders which was to follow or whether the success of the effort in this particular instance gave birth to the idea for the general campaign. Whichever was the case, the general campaign thereafter commenced in earnest. As is often the case with such moves, the origin in this country is found in a publication entitled the Worker, which, incidentally, is the successor to the Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party, USA.

In the June 4, 1961, issue of the Worker, on page 2, there appears an article entitled "Military Discusses New Move." This article is a flagrant attack on the top military leadership of our country. Among those named are Lt Gen Arthur G Trudeau, Chief of Research and Development of the Army,

now under consideration for a position of higher responsibility and presently on an important mission for this administration in the Far East, Adm Arleigh Burke, Chief of Naval Operations, and Gen Maxwell D Taylor, Military Adviser to the President.

Included in the attack were also Mr William C Sullivan, Chief Inspector in the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and Mr Lyman B Kirkpatrick, Jr, Inspector General of the Central Intelligence Agency. I ask unanimous consent that the text of this article be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Worker, June 4, 1961]

AT THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCES  
BIG BUSINESS PLANS STRATEGY—MILITARY  
DISCUSSES NEW MOVES

(By Sam Kushner)

CHICAGO—There's quite a story behind the report carried on the front page of the Wall Street Journal May 24. The report is headlined "Some Officials Urge Sabotage, Subversion Inside the Red Bloc."

Three military leaders are mentioned by name. But noticeably absent is the organization in which they all figure prominently and where many of them are associated with big business industrialists—the Military-Industrial Conference, which is the creature of the Institute for American Strategy.

There is a not so secret memo being circulated in the Pentagon calling for open intervention aimed at overthrowing some of the socialist governments. It is being circulated among senior military officers by the Army Research and Development Chief Lt Gen Arthur G Trudeau. ~~He told that this memorandum, which~~ triggering a general war, and hardly any real choice except this one for getting the upper hand in the cold war.

SINCE 1955

The Military-Industrial Conference, an amalgam of military leaders in the field of commerce and big business tycoons, was founded in 1955 with the aim of achieving total mobilization for the cold war.

On the Washington liaison committee of the conference sits General Trudeau, together with representatives of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the American Legion, heads of major corporations, other representatives of the Armed Forces.

Are America's military leaders playing fast and loose with the peace of the world? Here is what General Trudeau, who is circulating the document in the Pentagon about overthrowing socialist nations, said at a conference of the Military-Industrial Institute.

"The outcome (of the contest between capitalism and socialism) will determine not only whether we live in a free or a slave state but whether by the turn of the century world trade will be based on 4 rubles to the dollar or \$4 to the ruble. We can remain the champion in this vicious race by exerting our full strength, and rise to great heights for the benefit of all mankind, or we can sulk like fearful and frustrated people and face the possibility of going down in the ignominy of defeat. The choice is ours, the hour is late, the time for decision is now."

This speech was made April 25, 1960, at the Sherman Hotel before 1,000 top military and industrial leaders, including representatives of America's most powerful monopolies.

Keeping up the drumbeat for war was Rear Adm Chester Ward (retired), former Judge Advocate of the US Navy, who con-

demned the Eisenhower administration for having ceased the U-2 flights over the Soviet Union. Speaking before a Chicago regional meeting of the same organization, with more than 1,000 present, at the Prudential Building, the bristling admiral said:

"We should not have suspended the U-2 flights after the Powers affair. We should have told the Russians we would continue and let them shoot the planes down if they could. . . . You must understand one simple principle, we cannot afford to lose, we can afford to win."

The crowded auditorium, made up in the most part of business executives, gave him a standing ovation.

Two other military men are mentioned, besides General Trudeau, in the Wall Street Journal article. They are Chief of Naval Operations, Adm Arleigh Burke, and former Army Chief of Staff Gen Maxwell D Taylor. The former spoke before the cold war military industrial conference this year, and the latter appeared at last year's session.

INVASION PLANNER

Burke is one of the men held responsible for the plans for the invasion of Cuba, and Taylor is being discussed as the future head of the Central Intelligence Agency. Both were very much at home in the company of America's big business leaders, who have invested interest in the cold war.

How does General Taylor look at the decade of the sixties? Here is what he said in a summary statement at the conclusion of his speech before the big military and business brass session last year.

"In closing let me restate my estimate of the Soviet military threat in 1960. We are entering 1960 with the military trends running against us. There is little to prevent the Soviets from having a substantial advantage over us both in general and in limited war forces during the first half of this decade. Only by heroic measures taken now can we partially offset this threat. The second 5 years, if we survive, allow us time to strength."

Admiral Burke, one of President Kennedy's top advisers, in a bristling speech this year laid it on the line. The American way had to win, he emphasized. This is how he put it to the conference.

"To put it bluntly the future of the free world, the conditions of human life for years to come are now being determined. And we, the people of the United States, must win this conflict or witness the death of freedom and the end of free society. The fate of our country depends on what we as a Nation and as individual citizens are willing to do today. In our hands rests the responsibility for the future of the American concepts."

DESPERATE WORDS

These were the desperate words of the man who is reputed to be one of the architects of the invasion of Cuba. Admiral Burke is an impatient man. He pleaded, "Why do so many stubbornly refuse to understand the grim realities of the conflict in which we are engaged?"

How would the admiral meet with the "grim realities"? He would begin in the school because "we cannot wait until our youngsters have become adults before preparing them" to take their place in the kind of society the admiral wants.

With words that brought plaudits of approval from the industrialists in the audience he said:

"Our youth must learn less about how to make money and much more about their responsibilities. We must educate them in the basic values that have made our country great. We must demonstrate by our example the importance of hard work, of competition, the importance of patriotism and integrity. Most of all, we must teach our

young people to respect and stand up for principles."

The kind of principles the admiral believes in are not too hard to figure out.

Generals, admirals, industrialists and cold war ideologists are not the only ones who do their speechmaking and planning at the military-industrial sessions. During recent years the Federal Bureau of Investigation has sent a member of J. Edgar Hoover's staff, Chief Inspector William C. Sullivan, to orientate this powerful group on the FBI's "analysis" of communism.

Gory stories of how schoolteachers have been "misled" by Communists and other similar tales that sound like a rehash of stool-pigeon testimony at a Smith Act trial are dished up in all seriousness to the millionaires and their lackeys at the conferences. They are warned about "peace campaigns" and other such activities.

This year, the FBI was joined on the platform of the conferences by one of the officials of the Central Intelligence Agency. He was Lyman B. Kirkpatrick, Jr., Inspector General of the CIA.

In the course of his remarks, the CIA's hand in "defections" from Socialist countries was easy to perceive. He concentrated mainly on Communist education as he saw it. But more significant than his speech, was his presence at the conference.

Here in concert with executives from many of America's biggest corporations, some with extensive overseas investments, the military leaders and the "security" arms of the U.S. Government joined in common cause.

#### NEW BRINKSMANSHIP

They hammered away to create a new "brinkmanship" situation in the world. Heat up the cold war, that was the theme of the meetings.

Many of the men sitting in these sessions were the same who planned the invasion of Cuba. And others who sat in this room are now being called upon to investigate the failure, from their point of view, of the invasion.

Mr. CURTIS: Mr. President, will the Senator from South Carolina yield?

Mr. THURMOND: I am pleased to yield to the able and distinguished Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. CURTIS: I commend the Senator for his forthright statement. He has given me the privilege of reading his script ahead of time. He is saying things which need to be said. We cannot temporize with communism. We cannot permit communism, little by little, to indoctrinate our people, little by little to smear the men who are charged with the defense of the country, because it all has a tainting and destroying effect.

I commend the Senator from South Carolina for speaking out forthrightly against the Communist ideology, for exposing it for what it is, and for taking a position which is in accord with that of J. Edgar Hoover, namely, that we as a people need to understand communism and be on the alert as to what it is doing now and what it has done in the past.

Mr. THURMOND: I thank the distinguished Senator from Nebraska for his remarks. Coming from a man who understands the dangers and the menace of communism, his remarks are especially appreciated.

Mr. President, the previous article was written by one Sam Kushner. I ask unanimous consent that some pertinent information with regard to this individual which my research has turned up be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the information was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### SAMUEL KUSHNER

Midwest editor of the Worker. He has been a high-ranking member of the Chicago Communist Party for some 20 years. He went underground after the convictions of the Communist leaders in 1949. The Chicago press in late 1958 carried stories that Kushner had evaded authorities for more than 4 years after his car killed a man in Chicago. Kushner was identified as vice chairman of the Illinois Communist Party and a member of the party's national committee. Kushner changed his address frequently and obtained a driver's license and auto registration under phony names. License revoked.

Mr. THURMOND: Mr. President, the crime with which our high military leaders are charged in the article by Sam Kushner was either addressing or associating with an organization entitled The Military Industrial Conference which was founded in 1955. The National Military Industrial Conference, as such, is no longer in existence. Its work, however, resulted in the incorporation in 1958 of the Institute for American Strategy. The director of research for the National Military Industrial Conference is Mr. Frank R. Barnett, who in 1960 prepared and distributed an article entitled "Strategy, Survival, and the Private Citizen." This article not only gives the background of this organization's work but also contains the essence of the information and material found so objectionable by the Communists. In order that the Congress and when our military leaders are rebuked for addressing and associating with, I ask unanimous consent that the article by Mr. Frank R. Barnett entitled "Strategy, Survival, and the Private Citizen" be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### STRATEGY, SURVIVAL AND THE PRIVATE CITIZEN WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

(By Frank Rockwell Barnett)

Mr. Barnett's intense concern with the preservation of freedom and his abilities as a speaker have earned him the applause of military and civilian organizations both here and abroad. A native of Illinois, he studied at Wabash College and the Universities of Syracuse, California, Zurich, and—as a Rhodes Scholar—Oxford. His proposal to recruit a Legion of Liberation, printed in the Congressional Record in 1951, induced Congress to appropriate \$100 million to form Iron Curtain refugees into military units for the defense of the free world. Mr. Barnett is Director of Research, The Richardson Foundation, Inc., and an officer of the Institute for American Strategy. He lectured at the first National Strategy Seminar for Reserve Officers. It was due largely to his efforts that the seminar was organized and convened.

A half century ago an unemployed lawyer wrote an obscure little book. It had a limited—almost private—circulation. Its title had no sex appeal. It was called, very simply, "What Is To Be Done?"

When the book was published in 1902, its author was in exile, living in a dingy boarding house. Living frugally on small subsidies from the political underworld and scorning all the values of his middle-class

heritage, this bald, squat lawyer was self-appointed leader of a handful of outcasts from society.

To the property owners, statesmen, generals of the Victorian world, this and his circle of impractical agitators "rabble." The power élite of that day nored his pamphlets and did not read book. Nor, for the most part, have property owners, statesmen, and general midcentury America.

Yet the man who wrote it and his principles—exploiting the practical concrete set forth in "What Is To Be Done?"—have seized two continents, and set fire to others. Today, whole libraries, as well as graves of 20 nations and 40 million people bear witness to the deadly political science of a movement whose cumulative conquest now exceed the combined empires of Alexander, Hitler, and Tamerlane—and whose accelerating capability to lay waste the globe itself must be the touchstone for determining our national and even our private objectives. The lawyer's name, of course was Lenin.

Nearly 6 decades removed from the publication of "What Is To Be Done?" Americans who never heard of Vladimir Ulyanov confront the consequences of his mind, will, and fearful talent. Until Lenin, various forms of socialism were quick experiments or futile terrorism in the night. But to Lenin, communism was not simply an idea, it was a power technique. Communism, after Lenin, was more than a philosophy. It was a triumph of organization. Under his tutelage, Communists became "managers"—conflict managers. They learned how to integrate and coordinate almost every form of human activity to achieve the goals of a heartless policy committee.

The position of America in 1960 is, of course, not nearly as far heavier than some may suppose. Because no exploding bombs illuminate the "precinct politics" of Communists in Afro-Asia, too many imagine there is still time to refer the conduct of the battle to another research committee. Because our defeats have been chiefly in the twilight, undeclared war of nerves, propaganda, and trading, no dramatic scoreboard signals the loss of a free world bishop or the enemy's ambiguous gambit to advance the Red queen, 15 moves hence, to check and mate. Indeed, for amateurs at chess or geopolitics, each move of an opponent seems to present an isolated challenge, the pattern is concealed, the savage end game not even imagined.

#### THE LEADTIME OF SURVIVAL

A struggle for markets, a clash between armies, competition in research and development—these are not static affairs. To the untrained eye, the contest is evenly matched at a particular time and place, yet triumph and disaster have been foreordained by leadtime in logistics and the laboratory. Although Nazi Germany and Japan seemed to sweep the board in 1942, their fate had been unobtrusively influenced in a laboratory in Chicago and on the production lines of Detroit.

The Chinese Communist fighter pilots who died not long ago, in sky battles over Quemoy, were doubtless brave and skilled airmen. But they were dead airmen when Sidewinder missiles uncoiled from American jets. Technically, those pilots were still alive until the missile actually struck, but were they not dead when the release button was pushed, since no courage or wishful thinking on their part could thereafter avert the predetermined end? Were they not, in a sense, already doomed when the blueprint for the Sidewinder were approved for production?

Whole civilizations, as well as a single aircraft, have a point of no return if they per-

mit an opposing society to gain too much leadtime in the science of conflict—whether the war is hot, cold, economic, political, limited or all-out. The conflict managers and chess players of Russia have planned on a century of conflict if need be—though they are now arrogantly confident we will not last that long. They do not need to debate their one clearcut objective, their tactics, rather than their policies, are flexible and their economy is geared to the cost accounting of the battlefield. And they have gained a leadtime of more than 40 years in the art of nonmilitary warfare, deception, and the training of professional cadres for ideological combat and subversion.

Our democracy, sensitive to the variable breezes of public opinion and the random tides of pressure groups, improvises strategy from one election to another. As freemen, we would not dispense with elections or limit debate. But surely, for all our individualism, we can achieve a working consensus on the need to survive—on the obligation to preserve intact and with its charter of incorporation unchanged in principle, this unique laboratory called America—a co-operative research institute where, on a voluntary basis, men from all lands join together to conduct experiments in liberty and opportunity. When more Americans become serious students of strategy, there is little doubt that our response will be adequate to the enemy's challenge. But first we must place the problem on the agenda of business groups, universities and professional societies as well as government.

#### STUDENTS OF STRATEGY

Strategy connotes perspective the selection of the right priorities, relating the parts to the whole. The student of strategy is never so hypnotized by science and sputniks that he ignores the other battlefronts of foreign language training, propaganda analysis, international trade, and our domestic economic growth. While he evaluates the challenge of Soviet trade, aid, patronage, and manipulation of the markets, he will not, however, ignore the clenching of the Soviet mailed fist—or the jostling of Moscow's political elbow.

If it is true that the U.S. Strategic Air Command cannot—with massive retaliation—prevent Moscow's subtle penetration of Latin American markets, it is equally true that economic aid to India cannot avert a coup d'etat and assassination in Iraq. Expanding technical assistance and U.S. business investment in Africa may be vital to our security, it will not, however, avert butchery in Hungary or Tibet. It will not carry the cold war, by nonmilitary means, into the restless, vulnerable empire of the enemy, where the people of Eastern Europe and Asia groan under Russian conquistadores and Peiping's cruel dogma of the yellow man's burden.

Economic aid to emerging new nations is important to our own future as a free people, but, by itself, this assistance will not blunt the danger of communism. One does not win a nonmilitary war—whose victories thus far have gone to the enemy—by simply denying that enemy a further series of advances on free world soil.

American aid, whether private or governmental, will not offset the Soviet economic thrust unless the managers of U.S. economic activities are themselves sensitive to ideological, political, and strategic nuances. Random largess, with no regard to specific goals or national priorities, may be "humanitarian." It has nothing to do with "strategy" and the science of conflict-management. The bestselling book, "The Ugly American," amply illustrates how the Communists have applied Gresham's law to international politics—i.e., bad propaganda drives out good deeds. To be specific, \$1 million worth of Communist agitation, covert activity, and

blackmail can sometimes offset \$100 million worth of American economic aid, distributed with "no strings attached"—indeed not even the strings of requiring prudent management and accounting. Of course we need to do more in the economic sphere, both through government and the private sector, but we need strategists and conflict managers of our own to disburse and coordinate those sums to ensure better returns for free world survival.

Finally, in any discussion of strategy, it is imperative to keep science and military readiness on the agenda. A nuclear war over Berlin may be improbable. But we dare not delude ourselves with the wishful cliché that hydrogen bombs have made general war "unthinkable." The categories of thought employed by the heirs of Ivan the Terrible and Lenin are not necessarily the same as those which prevail in the peace-loving democracies of the West. Stalin cheerfully scorched the Russian earth and sacrificed 25 million countrymen to stop the Nazis. Hitler was prepared to let all Germany burn in some mad Wagnerian sacrifice to Thor and Woden. Mao and Chou En-lai will not blink at the loss of 100 million Chinese, upon whose broken bodies, in the next decade, they intend to rear the heavy industry and nuclear armaments of the anthill state.

Khrushchev, who stood at Stalin's side while 3 million Ukrainians were deliberately starved to death, is not likely to be more squeamish about liquidating Americans en masse if he ever has the chance. Let the Russians spend more for basic research, let them shorten the leadtime between invention and production. Let Moscow develop some as yet unknown electronic defense against our aircraft and missiles. Let Soviet engineers erect that defense system only 6 weeks before we have a similar capacity to ward off their rocket-launching submarines and ICBMs. In short, let the Kremlin but once enjoy over us the weapons advantage we once held over them (but did not use), and the world is likely to have another demonstration of how Khrushchev defines "peaceful coexistence." In this country not even our military leaders talk of preventive war, but Soviet military journals are full of the doctrine of strategic surprise, the use of deceptions in the nuclear age, and the case for the preemptive blow.

#### WHERE OUR OPPORTUNITIES LIE

What is to be done? Lenin's question challenges us not only to think but to implement. Some responses to the question can only be made by government. For example \$20 million could be allocated for a special political warfare fund to organize intensive, persistent propaganda throughout all Afro-Asia against Chinese machineguns in the monasteries of Tibet, or \$500 million, if necessary to form a NATO Board of Economic Warfare to make flooding the market bad business for the Kremlin, or \$5 billion, if needed to keep SAC in the air, to give the Army an airlift for limited war, to put missiles on merchant ships or obsolete destroyers as a temporary makeshift while the Navy perfects Polaris and builds an invisible armada of nuclear submarines.

But it is in the field of nonmilitary warfare that our greatest opportunities may lie today. Russia is now the last of the great colonial powers. Russia colonizes exploit the people of Soviet Central Asia. Russian colonialists govern the Ukraine, Georgia, the Baltic Republics and Armenia, their conferees manipulate power in the captive nations of Eastern Europe and are active in Korea and China. In all the forums of world opinion—relentlessly and without cessation—Russian colonialism must be exposed, condemned and used as a psychological warfare weapon against communism.

Nor should we forget that, conceivably, the Russian power elite itself is divided. We know now that the supposedly monolithic

Nazi state was in reality a cauldron of intrigue. The SS, Gestapo, Nazi bureaucracy and German General Staff were at each other's throats. From time to time, we glimpse signs that the same laws of internal contradiction may plague the Sino-Soviet Empire. In World War II, Lt. Gen. Andrei Vlassov led a Free Russian Army against Moscow. More than 300,000 Ukrainians fought with the Germans. More recently, Beria has been executed, Zhukov demoted, Molotov, Malenkov, and Kaganovich dispatched to the provinces, Bulganin "retired," and General Serov purged. Others may be next. Will Gomulka remain? How does the Red army really feel about the secret police and the Communist Party?

We know now, in the light of history, that Germany had an underground—that members of the German general staff were in touch with the British Foreign Office prior to World War II. Some of these proud Junker generals would have liked to move against the Nazi upstarts before Munich. But when Mr. Chamberlain went hat in hand to Munich, he served unwittingly to defeat the one compelling argument of the anti-Hitler conspirators—that Hitler's designs on Czechoslovakia would lead the nation into a disastrous war. From the moment Chamberlain bowed to Hitler, the dissident elements in the general staff were helpless; the fuhrer was demonstrating to the German people that his policy of bluff was paying dividends. The majority of the Germans was convinced that German hegemony in Europe could be bought without payment of blood or treasure.

#### THE FOURTH WEAPON: PSYCHO-POLITICAL FORCES

The lessons of the past suggest that America must learn the arts of fourth dimensional warfare—of conflict by communications and of psychological combat. Subversion might be a hundred times more dangerous to Moscow and Peiping than to Washington and London. But subversion and political warfare require as much professional competence as commanding an aircraft carrier or an infantry division—and, as yet, while we have splendid academies to train young people how to use freepower, there are no training schools in this country which equip Americans to compete with the graduates of Soviet institutes of irregular warfare.

One operational objective might be, therefore, the creation of an American fourth weapon, coequal with the Army, Navy, and Air Force. Its purpose would be to offset the current Soviet advantage in nonmilitary weapons systems which may enable them—under the umbrella of nuclear terror—to seize Asia, the Middle East, and Africa piecemeal by coup d'etat, precinct politics, fifth column and popular fronts. Obviously, in order to wage psychopolitical warfare, we must have an impenetrable shield of science and military power. We must match the Soviets in missiles and airpower, in submarines, in capacity to wage limited wars—including guerrilla wars through our own proxies—and finally in psychosocial combat.

An American fourth weapon might consist of the following components and activities:

- 1 A separate Cabinet office with at least the status and budget of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. (If we are driven into a thermonuclear corner, where we can only choose either to surrender or cremate the earth, there will be no health, education, or welfare.)

- 2 A Joint Congressional Committee on Cold War Strategy—to take advantage of the fact that our own practicing, professional politicians have skills which may profitably be employed in the arena of political warfare.

- 3 An Assistant Secretary for Nonmilitary Defense in the Pentagon.

- 4 A career service for officers who elect to become specialists in the propaganda and



psychological warfare fields Too often, the intelligence function in this country has been regarded as "the shelf" by able officers who feel that, in order to win promotion, they must get back to troops and military hardware

5 The creation of foreign legions composed of Russians, Poles, Hungarians, Koreans, Chinese, Ukrainians and others who have fled from behind the Iron Curtain If the Soviets threaten to send "volunteers" to the Middle East or Indonesia, the free world should have another string to its bow namely, the possibility of sending free Russians against Soviet volunteers This international "captive nations" brigade" would be trained in all the arts and sciences of propaganda and conflict through communications Part of its mission would be what the mission might have been in Korea—if we had used defecting Chinese and North Koreans to promote defections from the enemy on the field of battle

6 The establishment of what Brig Gen David Sarnoff, in his memorandum of April 1955 to President Eisenhower, called a West Point of political warfare

#### CITIZEN EXPERTS IN POLITICAL WARFARE

Another operational objective to be achieved, if we are to survive the contest of the next two decades, is the voluntary commitment of private resources to certain aspects of national defense The Communist Party manifestly can mobilize the total resources of the Soviet Empire for the cause of conflict—because the Communist Party has the machinery of total government By definition, our limited government cannot, and should not, compete with Moscow in kind This means, however, that unless trade associations, educational institutions, private foundations, labor unions, and opinion leaders commit a portion of their energies to ideological, economic, and political defense, the Kremlin's total thrust will continue to be unopposed in many vital sectors of nonmilitary and ideological combat What we need to achieve, therefore, is a new kind of informal partnership in defense between civilian and governmental sectors

In World War II, the American military developed new forms of teamwork and learned to work successfully in combined operations Air power, naval gunfire frogmen, and infantry assault troops all worked together on the beachheads in splendid coordination The combined operations of the cold war require even broader teamwork They require that diplomats, military attachés, college professors, American businessmen overseas, foreign correspondents, and technicians—to name just a few—all work together informally to undergird national strategy

In this new kind of war, radio commentators, teachers and investment bankers are on the frontline just as surely as the men who man the missiles and guard our positions overseas Unfortunately, too few leaders in the private sectors of American life as yet realize that we are at war—and that the survival of Western civilization is at stake Americans do not like to do their homework in world politics, economics, geography, or history We refused to read "Mein Kampf", today we refuse, with equal indifference, to read and study the strategy of Lenin, Stalin, and Khrushchev

If strategy is now the business of private citizens, as well as government, what is to be done by voluntary action? What is to be done by such groups as the Institute for American Strategy? The ideas which follow are samples of the literally dozens of projects that could be translated into action once private funds and staff were allocated to the prosecution of nonmilitary strategy

#### PROPOSAL A DYNAMIC HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN EXPERIMENT

There are missionaries for Communist dogma There are high priests of socialism

Fascism had its philosophers and publicists There are exponents of classical economics, disciples of Adam Smith, and followers of Lord Keynes But there are almost no articulate spokesmen for the constantly evolving, dynamic system that is 20th century America Modern capitalism is as different from the monopoly capitalism assailed by Karl Marx as it is from Chinese communism But American business has no party theoreticians, hence the enemies of the system monopolize the international networks of communication

Some American union leaders talk the language of the Fabian Society's discredited efforts to achieve utopia through nationalization of industry Some American business leaders—who are learning how to integrate automation, atomic energy and the behavioral sciences—nevertheless prefer to think in the cherished symbols of 19th century capitalism

What few have realized is that communism—which is really a new and brutal form of state capitalism—is obsolete Socialism has been tried and found wanting in Western Europe, Britain, and Australia. Cartel capitalism, which fed the maw of empire, is rightly on its way out American-style capitalism—which might be called the "private, voluntary welfare state"—could be the wave of future It is incredibly productive It is consumer-oriented rather than government-directed It concentrates on products that bring an easier life to the masses, rather than on luxury items for the few And, increasingly, American-style capitalism is not only efficient, it is attentive to social, ethical and cultural values

Socialists argue that America is a political not an economic democracy owing to private ownership and the profit system Quite to the contrary America is more of an economic democracy than Socialist Sweden or Britain under the Labor Party In a Socialist system, voters cannot appeal the day-to-day decisions of administrators and politicians who make economic decisions Short of turning the government out at the polls, they must live with arbitrary policies for years on end In America, every citizen casts economic votes every day—by the choice he makes when he buys one product and declines another, purchases one stock and sells another, changes his occupation, agitates for an increased pension plan, lobbies for or against a tariff, quits his job to start a new business for himself, goes on strike or votes not to go on strike

Some Socialists have represented their model to the world's uncommitted nations as the moderate third force which stands midway between reactionary capitalism and the police terror of the Communist empire This argument will not bear scrutiny American-style capitalism is itself an effective third force in the world, but we have not been able to project that image forcefully either to foreign nationals or to some of our own intellectuals and new generations of students

No one has adequately described the American phenomenon—an ever-flexible and self-renewing pattern of self-government characterized by diffusion of power, partnership between Washington and the private sector, voluntary welfare, creative altruism, citizen action, checks and balances, and idealism mixed with practical business and material benefits for almost everyone Where but in America are there more than 4,000 private organizations which labor to solve social, economic, health, and education problems by nongovernmental action? Where do men more earnestly seek to accomplish objectives by persuasion, cooperation and good will?

What is to be done? Books, unpublished manuscripts, speeches, and journals should be examined to see if a "capitalist manifesto" is already in being—although scattered about in bits and pieces If so, random

articles should be edited into a coherent whole If not, a scholar—with a flair for popular writing—should be commissioned to do the job Liaison should be established with college and public school authorities to insure that the finished product will be used in our own educational system USIA might be contacted with a view toward giving an inexpensive edition of the book widespread distribution all over the world Conceivably, new material for this book could be elicited from a number of scholars by offering a sizable prize, similar to the Atlantic prize novel contest

#### PROPOSAL A PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS NEWSLETTER

There is nowhere any persistent, sophisticated daily effort to analyze Communist propaganda for American audiences and reveal it for what it really is Owing to the structure of our mass media, statements by Communist political leaders are reported as "news" on the front page Thus—in a sense—the press, radio and TV of America give millions of dollars worth of publicity to Communist propaganda themes

American leadership must expand half of its energies in debating spurious and irrelevant themes which the Communists put before the courts of world opinion This is one of the reasons why we seem always to react to Communist initiative

What is to be done? We must see if a group of editors, publishers, columnists, and editorial writers would volunteer to form a committee to refute Communist propaganda Scholars associated with research groups could prepare a series of papers, analyzing persistent Soviet themes and setting forth—in historical perspective—the true facts These scholarly materials could be reduced to a news letter and mailed out to, say, 1,000 editors and editorial writers Perhaps some newspapers would even agree to print a brief front-page box entitled "The Current Party Line" This could serve as a touchstone for the reader who is bewildered by the gyrations and seeming "concessions" of Khrushchev and his associates

#### PROPOSAL BUSINESS TRAINING FOR OVERSEA COMMUNITY RELATIONS

The Communists have trained, literally, tens of thousands of professional propagandists and agitators These cadres are saturating the Afro-Asian world, the Middle East, and Latin America Their job is to create a climate of opinion hostile to American diplomacy, to American military bases, to American investments and business opportunities

American business trains executives for labor relations, industrial relations and public relations here at home There is very little training as yet, however, for the delicate job of "community relations" in an oversea area that is threatened by Communist penetration, insurrection, economic pressure and coup d'état

What is to be done? In cooperation with a business school, research institute or management association, a special Seminar should be set up to concentrate on overall problems of management in a specific target area, including political, strategic and community relations factors that bear both on national and investment security

To that Seminar would be invited representatives of all corporations and banks with present investments and business in—or future plans for—area X (let us say one of the new nations in Africa, or southeast Asia)

The Seminar would include such normal components of a management course as economic feasibility reports on area X, market research data, currency exchange problems and training and personnel matters However, in addition to this, there would be discussion of (a) Communist objectives, strategy and tactics in that part of the world (b) analysis of leading Soviet propaganda themes and how to refute them, (c) the social responsibilities of modern capitalism—

in other words, practical case studies in how American corporations can be good citizens of a foreign community, and (d) an inventory of free world institutions that might be helpful in promoting stability in area X—including universities which sponsor private technical assistance programs, private foundations, welfare agencies, church groups, youth clubs and labor unions with contacts in that area, and trade associations and international professional societies.

Conceivably, this seminar for businessmen might be attended also by a few officials from the Department of State and USIA, plus two or three officers about to be assigned as military attachés in the given area. The objection of including some Government personnel would be informally to build a team—through personal contacts and joint training—that would be better able to cope with the integrated, disciplined cadres dispatched by the Communists to various parts of the world. Joint training at the National War College and the Industrial College of the Armed Forces is building understanding and respect among officials of all the services. That principle can be extended to improve cooperation between American businessmen overseas and US Government personnel.

Freedom, in short, rests on economic know-how and political skill as well as military power. The American businessman overseas, the Foreign Service officer, and the military attaché each has a vital role to play—and, if possible, they should play it more in harmony with each other. The expansion of the private sector overseas and the growth of foreign middle classes can greatly strengthen our diplomatic and military alliances.

An excellent report, "Expanding Private Investment for Free World Economic Growth," prepared in April 1959, under the direction of Ralph I. Straus, has pointed to perhaps the central reason for the success of our private system of enterprise—namely, its adaptability. Throughout the West's economic development from the dawn of the industrial revolution, private enterprise has had to adjust to almost every conceivable economic and political situation. In the tremendous diversity which is the so-called underdeveloped world, no single blueprint of central planning can accommodate the gamut of problems which beset societies ranging from the nearly destitute to the nearly developed. Private enterprise can do the job, and do it effectively and dynamically.

But selling this, what Robert L. Garner calls "America's best export," is the responsibility not only of American business. Our Government should key its economic assistance policies to the objective of creating the kind of climate abroad in which free enterprise can take root. Specifically, our policymakers might heed the Straus report's recommendation that US aid programs increasingly emphasize:

- 1 Training of foreign teachers and students at American business schools,
- 2 University contracts whereby American business schools establish programs and assist local institutions abroad to train businessmen,
- 3 Analogous arrangements for training in public administration, law, and economics bearing on the institutional framework for effective business activity,
- 4 Programs for establishing local trade, manufacturing, and business management associations,
- 5 Practical on-the-job training in industrial plants.

#### THE ULTIMATE WEAPON

The rather passive business of conducting seminars, studying strategy and steeping the mind in the operational techniques of communism may strike some practical men of affairs as a waste of time. Yet effective action

does flow from doctrine, doctrine so thoroughly absorbed that it guides the intuition and governs the reflex of statecraft.

The ultimate weapon, of course, is neither science nor politics nor psychological warfare. The ultimate weapon is human courage based on faith in certain unalterable moral laws. Unfortunately, some in our midst have forgotten the true meaning of America. We are already half afraid of the honorable word "revolution," although we are the true revolutionaries. It was an American revolution that gave the world its finest revolutionary ideal—the notion that government is the servant, not the master, of the people. The Communists—who call us reactionary—have turned society back to the days of the Pharaohs. The monuments to "Socialist progress" erected in the USSR—like the pyramids of ancient Egypt—have been built with slave labor.

On the other hand we Americans have developed the most flexible, continually progressing society known to man. Our so-called masses already enjoy luxuries undreamed of in most parts of the world. But beyond that is the fact that we are truly free men. We must not let this remarkable experiment in human liberty and opportunity perish from want of courage, or lack of sophistication, or failure to meet the problem with the ablest human resources at our disposal.

The task may seem enormous but the stakes are even higher. And let us remember that great events are usually determined by resolute minorities. Forty-three years ago communism was confined to a rented room in Zurich, the brains of Lenin and the ambition of a few other outcasts. Fewer than 100 men made the American Revolution. (For a time the whole future of this Nation was carried in the will and heart of a lonely man who walked the winter lines at Valley Forge persuading his ragged countrymen not to quit and go home.) There is more than enough talent in modern America to again change the course of history. But time is impartial. In politics and war as in business, time is only on that side which knows best how to use it.

The Institute for American Strategy is a nonprofit educational corporation, whose objective is adult education in survival. The Institute holds that only an informed public can muster the energy needed to master Communist forces designed to defeat not only freedom but civilization itself.

The Institute's history goes back to 1955. In March of that year, a 3-day symposium on strategy was organized in Chicago by the Society of American Military Engineers, the Illinois Institute of Technology, the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry and the various branches of the Armed Forces.

This forum on national defense was called the National Military-Industrial Conference. Its purpose was to assess the scientific and technical needs of the United States in the context of Soviet-Communist competition. It brought together men from business, education, government, science, engineering and other areas, including distinguished leaders from many foreign countries.

The conference recommendations proved so helpful to business and government, it was decided to organize similar seminars to appraise other dimensions of America's world strategic position. Thus, each year since 1955, the National Military-Industrial Conference has met to analyze matters that affect the security and prosperity of the United States.

Participants in the conference became more and more convinced that a permanent year-around program was needed to alert Americans to these matters, particularly the determined and all-encompassing nature of the Soviet-Communist challenge. Therefore, in 1958 the Institute for American

Strategy was incorporated to undertake this task.

The Institute initiated and sponsored the first National Strategy Seminar for Reserve Officers, held at the National War College, Washington, D.C., in July 1959. The curriculum for the seminar—authorized by the Joint Chiefs of Staff—covered all phases of Communist conflict management from missile strategy to subversion, from geopolitics and weapons research to propaganda analysis, economic and psychological warfare. The course was developed by the Foreign Policy Research Institute of the University of Pennsylvania. A second National Strategy Seminar for Reserve Officers is being held at the National War College in July 1960.

The Institute is sponsoring a master curriculum on national strategy to be published by Doubleday & Co., Inc., in the autumn of 1960 under the title "American Strategy for the Nuclear Age," and issued as an original Doubleday Anchor book. This volume is an outgrowth of the first National Strategy Seminar and contains new versions of many of the addresses presented there as well as the writings of other authorities which have appeared in various magazines, journals, and books during the past few years.

The Institute is also organizing local and regional seminars, using materials and lecturers tested at the National Strategy Seminar. Business, professional, and educational groups are invited to apply to the Institute for help in arranging their own regional forums on national security affairs.

The Institute for American Strategy is nonpartisan and fully tax exempt. Contributions are deductible on Federal income tax returns. A copy of the Internal Revenue ruling will be furnished on request. Corporations and private foundations are especially invited to consider the Institute's program of placing the complex problems of strategy and national defense on the priority agenda of private citizens, professional societies, educators, and business and labor associations.

Mr. MILLER: Mr. President, will the Senator from South Carolina yield?

Mr. THURMOND: I am pleased to yield to the able and distinguished Senator from Iowa.

Mr. MILLER: I thank the Senator from South Carolina. Do I correctly understand that attacks have been made against people of the stature of General Trudeau, Admiral Burke, Mr. Sullivan, and the Richardson Foundation, a foundation which has, along with Mr. Barnett, promulgated some of the national strategy seminar, and that they have been criticized for addressing those groups? Do I understand that this is now being done?

Mr. THURMOND: The Senator is correct.

Mr. MILLER: I say to the able Senator from South Carolina that those gentlemen addressed the first National Strategy Seminar at the National War College in 1959. Together with the able and distinguished Senator from Delaware and the able and distinguished Senator from Rhode Island, the Senator from Iowa was privileged to attend that seminar. In my judgment, it was one of the finest 2-week periods of active duty I have ever attended. I derived no end of benefit in realizing the dangers of the cold war. As a result, it has been my privilege to try to spread the information about the dangers of the cold war which I received at that very helpful seminar.

The Senator from South Carolina is rendering a great public service by bringing to the attention of the American people the attacks which have been leveled at certain persons for saying what they did and making addresses aside from planning programs of this nature. I believe these programs should be promulgated throughout the country, that they should be extended into our universities and even, in fact, into our high schools.

I believe the subject of the cold war should be discussed and should be a part of every curriculum in every school in the country, so that our young people, who will grow up to fight in the cold war, or perhaps even in a hot war against the Communist world, will have an informational background that will enable them to cope with this menace.

The Senator from South Carolina is to be commended for bringing this subject to our attention.

Mr THURMOND: I thank the able Senator from Iowa for his remarks. He is pursuing a course of the kind he has referred to. He has the vision to know what communism means. He realizes the menace communism is to the United States and the free world. His remarks constitute a great contribution to my address this evening. I express my deep appreciation to him for bringing to the attention of the American people the information he has given.

Mr President, in the New York Times of June 18, 1961, there appeared an article entitled "Rightwing Officers Worrying Pentagon," over the byline of Cabell Phillips. This article, obviously an exclusive, attributes to high officials in the Pentagon the hope that the other example of General Walker will have a restraining effect on the military men whose zeal in the same cause has been creating mounting embarrassment for them. Immediately following the attribution of this hope to high officials at the Pentagon is a very significant quotation from Arthur Sylvester, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs, to the effect that—and I quote from the article

No other disciplinary actions are being considered now.

The design and propensities of this article for the intimidation of military leaders is beyond estimate. I ask unanimous consent that the text of this article from the New York Times of June 18 be printed at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RIGHTWING OFFICERS WORRYING PENTAGON  
(By Cabell Phillips)

WASHINGTON, June 17.—The Pentagon is having its troubles with rightwingers in uniform.

A number of officers of high and middle rank are indoctrinating their commands and the civilian populations near their bases with political theories resembling those of the John Birch Society. They are also holding up to criticism and ridicule some official policies of the U.S. Government.

The most conspicuous example of some of these officers was Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker, who was officially "admonished" for

his activities by the Secretary of the Army earlier this week.

General Walker's offense was in saying that a number of prominent Americans, as well as elements of the newspaper and television industries, were tainted with Communist ideology.

He did this in the course of a continuing effort that the general said was "designed to develop an understanding of the American military and civil heritage, responsibility toward that heritage and the facts and objectives of those enemies who would destroy it."

General Walker was the commander of the 24th Infantry Division in Germany at the time.

POLICY SET 3 YEARS AGO

In his anti-Communist effort General Walker was operating under a 3-year-old policy of the National Security Council. This called for a mobilization of all arms of Government—military, diplomatic, civilian—in the "cold war" struggle.

Where the general went wrong apparently, was in confusing his own political inclinations with the administration's strategy for fighting the "cold war."

High officials at the Pentagon have said that they hope this example will have a restraining effect on other military men whose zeal in the same cause has been creating mounting embarrassment for them.

"No other disciplinary actions are being considered now," said Arthur Sylvester, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs.

"It is no secret however, that this sort of activity by representatives of the Defense Department has been a disturbing problem for us. We are trying to reach a more rational handling of this aspect of the 'cold war' effort than has been the case in the past."

The problem for the Pentagon arises out of the fact that a number of its higher ranking officers have participated in or publicly lent their support to a variety of so-called forums, schools and seminars, ostensibly focused on the issues of national security. However, many of those groups—at least incidentally—are preoccupied with radically rightwing political philosophies.

STRESS ON ANTICOMMUNISM

The chief ingredient of these philosophies is often a militant anticommunism. The argument is that Communist subversion today is rife among the schools, the churches, labor unions, Government offices and elsewhere, and that this is a far greater threat to national survival than the international aspects of the Communist conspiracy.

In this argument, liberalism is equated with socialism and socialism with communism. Thus it opposes most welfare legislation, many programs for international cooperation such as foreign aid and disarmament conferences, and any effort by this Government to seek accommodations with the Soviet Union. Such activities are depicted as a playing into the hands of the Communists, and sometimes as stemming from Communist subversion.

As part of such indoctrination, citizens often are urged to form their own groups to "educate" others about the Communist menace and to be alert in discerning Communist influences in their neighborhoods, schools, newspapers and local governing bodies.

The genesis of this problem goes back to the so-called cold war policy evolved by the National Security Council in the summer of 1958.

That was a year of mounting international tensions when Communist power seemed to be on the rise around the world. Vice President Richard M. Nixon was then the victim of assembled Communist mobs during a good will tour of South America. President Eisen-

hower dispatched Marines to Lebanon to fend off Communist political aggressions in the Middle East. Communist China stepped up its artillery attacks on Quemoy and Matsu.

COLD WAR WIDENED

President Eisenhower and his top policy leaders decreed that the cold war could not be fought as a series of separate and often unrelated actions, as with foreign aid and propaganda. Rather, it must be fought with a concentration of all the resources of the Government and with the full understanding and support of the civilian population. It was decided, in particular, that the military should be used to reinforce the cold war effort.

This was the substance of the still classified cold war policy paper of the National Security Council.

Its implementation in the Department of Defense was ordered through a series of directives and guidance papers, also classified, directed to the top civilian and uniformed authorities. These officials were told to take positive measures to alert the troops under their command and the public at large to the issues of national security and the cold war.

How specific these directives were as to the particular tools and approaches to be employed in this effort cannot be learned. But commanding officers were supplied with literature and speech material and were required to report regularly on their cold war activities.

However, it is known that commanding officers were allowed wide latitude in applying the directives within their commands.

Of the hundreds of military bases here and abroad, only a score have become involved in these programs to the point that they have caused alarm among the new civilian team in the Pentagon. Officials suspect, however, that the trend is somewhat more widespread than their reports currently indicate. They are quietly trying to find out how widespread it is.

A typical example about which they do know is a seminar labeled "Project Action."

This was held at the Naval Air Station, Wold-Chamberlain Field, Minneapolis, on April 28 and 29 of this year. Capt. Robert T. Kleiling is the commanding officer of the station. He was a cosponsor of the program in collaboration with a committee of the Minneapolis-St. Paul Chamber of Commerce.

The official announcement described the program as follows:

"The purpose of Project Action is to inspire the citizens of this area to take an active part in the war against the danger that threatens our freedom and American way of life."

"The program of talks and presentations by nationally known leaders for the cause of democracy will bring to light facts and figures concerning the rising crime rate, juvenile delinquency, drug addiction, the general degradation of morals, the complacent attitude toward patriotism, and the tremendous gains the Communist conspiracy is making in this country."

"The U.S. naval air station is making facilities available for the seminar at the request of the Twin Cities Council for American Ideals. Out-of-local-area participants are invited to take advantage of overnight accommodations on the air station. A nominal fee of 50 cents per person will be charged. The (seminar) fee of \$7.50 includes two noon meals."

Approximately 500 persons from the upper Middle West attended the 2-day program. Among the lecturers who addressed them were Dr. Gerhard Niemeyer, University of Notre Dame, Dr. Nicholas Nyaradi, Bradley University, Dr. B. N. Bengston, Maywood, Ill., and two defectors from the Soviet Union. Several films were shown and litera-



ture was distributed purporting to explain the nature of Communist subversion, with particular emphasis on its attack upon American morals.

Among the scores of letters concerning Project Action that reached the Pentagon in the following days was one from a newspaper editor. It said in part:

"Perhaps some one can clear up for us our lack of understanding as to just how co-sponsorship of such activities fits in with the Navy mission, or the overall military mission, for that matter. It must be admitted that the local Project Action is politically partisan in a very real sense, although the partisanship is not of the party label type."

Another example of these political activities concerns Capt Kenneth J Sanger, commanding officer of the Sands Point Naval Air Station, Seattle, Wash. His activities over the last year have aroused a storm of controversy. Hundreds of letters, supporting and condemning him, have poured into the Pentagon and congressional offices in recent weeks.

In pursuing what he describes as a program of "moral leadership" on and off the base, Captain Sanger has made wide use of two controversial films, "Operation Abolition" and "Communism on the Map."

The first film was produced by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a counterweapon against those who sought last year to terminate its career—depicts as Communist inspired and managed last year's student riots in San Francisco, where the committee held an inquiry. The message of the film is that Communist influence has infiltrated school life across the Nation. Critics contend the film is distorted and misleading.

#### FILM MADE AT COLLEGE

The second film was produced at Harding College, Searcy, Ark. It shows the United States virtually engulfed in a world gone either Communist or Socialist including all of its NATO allies except Portugal. Among those whom the film narrator cites as responsible for this condition are President Franklin D Roosevelt, for having recognized the Soviet Union and General of the Army George C Marshall, for having made possible the Communist takeover of China.

These films and accompanying lectures by Captain Sanger and members of his team have been exhibited before hundreds of audiences, many of them composed of high school and college students, all over the Northwest. Among the many letters condemning the program was one published in the Seattle Times of last March 22 from James I Kimbrough, who wrote in part:

"My concern is not with Captain Sanger, my concern is with the concept which suggests that any branch of the Armed Forces is the appropriate vehicle for the dissemination to the civilian population and particularly to our youth, of proper attitudes of patriotism and concern for our democratic ideals. This is the nut of the issue, not communism or anticommunism."

Among numerous other incidents that have been brought to the attention of the Defense Department is the Fourth Dimensional Warfare Seminar held in Pittsburgh on April 15. Among those listed as giving assistance and support to the program were Lt Gen Ridgeley Gaither, Commanding General, 2d Army, and Maj Gen Ralph C Cooper, Commanding General, 21st Army Corps, and their respective staffs.

Several of the main speakers were highly critical of the Government's cold war policies.

One, for example, Adm Chester Ward, retired, was reported in the local newspapers as having said that "some of the advisers now surrounding the President" have philosophies regarding foreign affairs "that would

chill the average American." He mentioned by name, in this connection, Adlai E Stevenson, US representative to the United Nations, and George F Kennan, US Ambassador to Yugoslavia.

Members of the seminar were given a list of 18 points on "What You Can Do in the Fight Against Communism." Some of these that the Defense Department officials found disturbing included:

"This sort of thing, if carried far enough among susceptible people, can breed a wave of vigilantism and witch-hunting," one Pentagon official said. "Even Mr Hoover of the FBI, whom nobody would call 'soft on communism,' deprecates these self-appointed counterspies."

#### LEFT IN DELICATE POSITION

Civilian chiefs in the Pentagon find themselves in a delicate position with respect to this sort of activity in the higher uniformed echelons. They are disturbed by the right-wing views displayed by many of these officers. Yet, realistically, they cannot either ignore the threat of Communist subversion or be tagged, as one of them put it, "as being against anticommunism."

"The real problem," he went on, "is one of proportion. Nearly every responsible official I know of thinks that the real war against communism has to be fought in the international arena as it's political, diplomatic, economic, and in a limited sense, military. That, certainly, is the way the official policies of this Government are geared."

"When, as these fellows do, you change the target to looking for spies under the bed or in the PTA you divert that much energy and support away from the main objective of the cold war. And at the same time, you instill fear and distrust of our Government and its leaders."

Reinforcing his point he took from his desk a memorandum from Secretary of Defense Robert S McNamara, which has been circulated as "guidance" throughout the service. In part, it said:

"After the President has taken a position, has established a policy, or after appropriate officials in the Defense Department have established a policy, I expect that no member of the Department, either civilian or military, will discuss that policy other than in a way to support it before the public."

The dilemma of these officials is deepened by two other considerations.

One is that the experience of the servicemen captured by the Communists during the Korean war revealed a serious gap in the moral stamina and the patriotic dedication of a good part of American youth.

This has greatly alarmed many military men who believe that the Nation must breed a tougher type of soldier if it is to survive in another war. To many schooled in the military discipline, there is a link between this moral and intellectual softness and certain social and political trends in American life over the last two decades.

The other consideration is that under the so-called cold war policy evolved by the National Security Council in 1958, commanding officers were encouraged to help stimulate a widespread public awareness of the challenge and problems of national security. Inevitably, many interpreted the national peril in their own political terms, and, like General Walker, shaped their attacks accordingly.

The new civilian team in the Pentagon has begun a careful screening of the vast amount of printed and filmed material used by the services in their programs of troop indoctrination and community relations. The only positive step they have taken so far is to ban official use of the film "Communism on the Map," and to relegate "Operation Abolition" to a when-asked-for basis of availability.

But this sort of screening doesn't directly affect General X if he wants to make a speech about communism in the schools or play football with the Birch Society people," an official explained. "Unless he gets 'way off base, like General Walker did, we can't discipline him."

"There is a big gray area here where the difference between right and wrong—between saying too much and not saying too much—is terribly hard to distinguish. Who is to tell a three-star admiral how right wing—or how left wing—his political outlook can be?"

"Our best hope is that the extremists will begin to get the message themselves, as from General Walker and as from speeches of the secretaries, and use good judgment in what they say and do."

Mr THURMOND Mr President, many articles along this line have appeared in the Communist organ, the Worker. One of particular significance, however, appeared in the July 16, 1961, issue of the Worker and was written by Gus Hall, general secretary, Communist Party, USA. It points out how much the Defense Department's indoctrination programs are hurting the cause of communism. This article is entitled "The Ultraright Kennedy, and Role of the Progressives." A bold caption at the top of the article leaves no doubt as to the significance which the Communist Party gives to its efforts to discredit our military leaders. The caption reads:

Our Readers Are Invited To Send In Their Views and Comments on This Important Policy Statement by Gus Hall

It is significant that one of the principal targets of this article is the directive of the National Security Council of 1958, authorizing and directing the institution of an informational program by the armed services concerning communism. Mr President, I ask unanimous consent that this article from the Worker of July 16 be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### THE ULTRARIGHT, KENNEDY, AND ROLE OF THE PROGRESSIVE

(By Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA.)

The threat from the ultraright continues to mount in the United States. At the same time, the Kennedy administration pursues a cold war, interventionist, and generally antidemocratic course. We are, therefore, confronted with a unique problem of how, under these circumstances, to carry on the struggle for peace and democracy most effectively. The problem can best be posed by a series of questions.

Is the threat from the extreme right serious, in the sense that it is approaching the position where it can exert the decisive influence in government or itself make a bid for power?

What is the relationship between the ultraright and the Kennedy administration, and how are they different? Is it necessary to draw a line of differentiation?

These are complex and serious problems. Much can be learned from our own history, especially the New Deal period, and also from parallel situations in other countries, as in France. But there are also new and special aspects which need serious assessment. Here I propose only to begin such an assessment.

## THE THREAT FROM THE ULTRARIGHT

In the opinion of the Communist Party, there can be no question but that the threat from the extreme right is serious. It arises from a situation which is new for the United States. This, the most powerful capitalist country, cannot have its way in a world in which the forces of socialism, national liberation, and peace are playing a decisive role. Continuing rebuffs and defeats for the cold war and interventionist policy (most recently in Cuba and Laos) confront the dominant monopoly power with a choice, essentially between two alternatives. One is to end the cold war and to seek some form of accommodation to the socialist and national revolutionary world, which would mean a turn to a policy of peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition. Such a shift of policy would meet the most urgent national needs of the country in the present period of world history.

The other course is to seek to contain and reverse world trends by all means including so-called limited war and the ultimate nuclear war. It is necessary to recognize that the present cold-war policies of the administration lead in this direction. However, we must also recognize that the most aggressive and extreme expression of this suicidal policy comes from the ultraright.

War is their prescription for the crisis facing the country. Senator GOLDWATER and Richard Nixon, contending for leadership of the Rightwing Republicans advocate a war course, as do their Dixiecrat-Democratic allies, like Senators EASTLAND and SMATHERS. They are ready to take any pressing world issue, whether it be Cuba or Berlin, as an occasion for starting military action. They actively and aggressively seek the brink. In fact, Nixon is now calling for resuming the Dulles brinkmanship policy.

## The Fascist Network

In back of this political war-minded coalition, there is emerging in the country an organized movement of the fascist type. Ananced by the most chauvinist and aggressive sectors of big business. This is more serious than previous developments of this kind, and holds even a greater threat than the movement led by the late Senator Joe McCarthy.

For one thing, unlike previous fascist currents, the present movement is taking the form of a membership organization, in conspiratorial action groups, including secret military formation. The spearhead, the John Birch Society, is such an organization, around which is gathering a network of older hate groups, fascist sheets, and the white citizens councils and other diehard racist groups of the South.

The fascist network is openly in a sort of division of labor, in conjunction with legislative committees like HUAC and the Senate Internal Security Committee, and similar bodies in the States.

It is developing the demagoguery characteristic of Fascist movements, such as repeal of the income tax, and is also beginning to put forth antimonopoly slogans to ensnare middle-class dissent.

The Fascist network openly contemptuous of democracy and the Bill of Rights, and advocates the right of revolution—that is, in fact, counterrevolution. It proclaims the aim of seizing political power. With considerable influence in government today, it is working to dominate it entirely.

## Military-big business complex

Another pronounced characteristic of this growing Fascist movement is its spreading influence among the higher military personnel. The case of General Walker was only a symptom of a much deeper affliction. Even the Pentagon had to admit recently that it was worried over the extent of Birch-

ite and similar influences among the ranking officers of the military services.

It is now known that a secret directive, issued by the National Security Council in 1958 instructed commanding officers here and abroad to enlighten both the Armed Forces and civilians in their areas on the cold war policy. It was followed by additional guides and materials, still classified as secret, issued by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, on the basis of which seminars and meetings were organized by the military commands often in cooperation with local business groups. Complaints have been pouring into the Pentagon against the political activities of the military staffs, especially their wide dissemination of Birchite propaganda and of the obnoxious films 'Operation Abolition' and 'Communism on the Map'.

The entire line of policy coupled with CIA and similar training in subversive and putschist activities cannot help but create our own 'French generals,' who feel at home in Fascist circles, and are ready to lend themselves to their objectives. It is an outgrowth of 20 years of militarization, of the close cooperation between the Armed Forces and monopoly in handling a \$40 billion budget annually, and of a desperation born of a bankrupt foreign policy.

This complex of monopoly and the military, nurtured on war economy, has diverted science to military uses almost entirely, buying out the main branches of higher education and bringing within this web large sections of the student youth and intellectuals.

When you get this combination of high-ranking military officers, the Fascist organizations in North and South, the Right Republican-Dixiecrat coalition, and deep inroads into governmental bodies and in the educational system we can surely say that the threat from the ultraright is serious indeed.

The aim of this movement, shared by the varied elements of the ultraright and reaction, is the complete destruction of democracy, the wiping out of the main social gains won by labor and the people in the past decades, the suppression or subversion of independent people's organizations like the trade unions, peace groups and Negro societies, and the incarnation of Jim Crowism and racism as a national creed—in a word, a garrison state that will seek to drive the country to war and self-destruction.

Mr THURMOND Mr President, the elevation of the author of this article, Gus Hall, to general secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A., has very special significance. This special significance and Hall's background are set forth in an article by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, entitled "Communist Party, U.S.A.," which was printed in *Ave Maria* on April 30, 1960. I ask unanimous consent that the text of the article "Communist Party, U.S.A.," by Mr. Hoover, be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

## COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

(By John Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation)

It is the current vogue in certain circles to make light of the Communist Party, U.S.A., to minimize it as a potential threat to American security and to picture it as shattered, disorganized and confused. Emanating from these same circles, over and over, is the theme that because it has declined in numbers the party is weak, demoralized, and wholly ineffective. The picture projected would appear to characterize

the Communist Party, U.S.A., as somewhat akin to the defanged rattlesnake—noisy but harmless.

This picture is false.

In any sound assessment, the Communist Party, U.S.A., must be considered in the context of international communism. The Communist Party, U.S.A., does not exist alone and isolated—a political entity dependent solely on numbers for its strength. It is instead, the disciplined adjunct of an increasingly powerful, wholly totalitarian foreign-directed international conspiracy. The danger inherent in this auxiliary of evil—the Communist Party, U.S.A.—must be analyzed in such a relationship.

It is only when we realize the domestic Communist Party is an instrument wielded from without our national boundaries that we begin to grasp the threat it poses. The word 'instrument' is in fact, a fitting one in comparing the party of the recent past with the party of the present. Then membership was at an alltime high. Now the disenchanted and spiritually uncommitted have been sloughed off. What is left is a hard core instrument dedicated to the destruction of our individual freedoms.

In figurative terms, the sickle of the past was soft and dull. The hand which brandished it—international communism—was relatively weak. Today, the cold steel of the sickle is razor sharp and the arm which swings it is heavily muscled. So, in assessing the hazards before us, consider for yourself which is the more dangerous—a large but fluctuating group whose external support is lacking in strength and assurance or a smaller, tightly disciplined body dedicated to executing the will, at all costs, of a powerful and aggressive force whose creature it is.

The Communist Party, U.S.A., is the instrument of international communism. It is utterly subservient to international communism and it exists only to advance the objectives of world communism.

In order to analyze the threat which is implicit in the domestic Communist movement, therefore, one must have some knowledge of the international Communist movement and some understanding of its goals.

What does Lenin say in his chilling prophecy?

"As long as capitalism and socialism exist we cannot live in peace. In the end, one or the other will triumph—a funeral dirge will be sung either over the Soviet Republic or over world capitalism. . . ."

That statement cannot be misunderstood. Lenin's meaning is equally plain in the following statement:

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is the rule of one class, which takes into its hand the whole apparatus of the new state which vanquishes the bourgeoisie and neutralizes the whole of the petty bourgeoisie, the peasantry, the lower middle class and the intelligentsia."

One need go no further than Lenin's classic essay in Marxian strategy and tactics—"Left wing communism, an Infantile Disorder"—to gain understanding of what we may expect in the future. Lenin's philosophy encompassing the use of deceit and duplicity to achieve the ends of communism, has not been rejected. On the contrary, current leaders reiterate their unswerving adherence to the course of action outlined by Lenin. It is well to remember Lenin's hearty approval of party members who upheld the view point that it is obligatory to combine legal with illegal forms of struggle and that he referred again and again in his writings to the need for combining illegal action with legal action in order to advance the cause of communism.

Lenin was expounding his theories on the ways and means of achieving world domination at a time when only one nation lay crushed under the iron fist. Those theories—the strategy and the tactics—have

since been applied with such success that today one-fourth of the land surface of the world and one-third of the peoples of the earth are now controlled by the world-wide Communist bloc. We ignore these facts at our peril. At our peril, also, will be any minimization of the danger inherent in the currently constituted Communist Party, USA.

I repeat, the Communist Party, USA, cannot be separated from its parent. It must be analyzed in relation to the strategy and tactics of the international Communist movement. Its numerical strength must be considered in relation to its future expansion potential, and its current influence in relation to its program for the future.

A view of what we may anticipate in the future can be secured from a quick glance at what members hall as a milestone in the party's future—the 17th national convention of the Communist Party, USA. I might say at the outset that the illusive Red tie that binds the international Communist conspiracy was evidenced at the convention in the greetings received from approximately 50 foreign Communist parties. These included the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and that of China.

We may set forth four major points considered by the party faithful as their chief accomplishments at the 17th national convention. These are:

1 Promotion of Gus Hall to the No. 1 position in the party.

2 Uniting of the membership solidly behind the new leadership.

3 Exploitation of the current international political climate in an effort to make Russian policies more acceptable to American public opinion.

4 The implementation of concrete programs calculated to increase party membership and influence in America.

What does the promotion of Gus Hall mean?

It means that an energetic, coldly calculating, aggressively pro-Russian ex-convict now is directing the visible forces which are dedicated to the destruction of individual freedom in America. Gus Hall is an utterly ruthless Communist. He believes that the ends of communism justify the use of any means to achieve those ends. Gus Hall is an opportunist. There are many indications that he used his influence in the "dump Dennis" campaign in order to replace what he considered the ineffectual leadership of the ailing Eugene Dennis with his own relentless brand of direction.

Gus Hall was born Arvo Halberg in 1910 at Virginia, Minn. His parents were Matt and Susanna Halberg who later were to become charter members of the Communist Party in the United States. Hall joined the party in 1927. Four years later he was attending the Lenin School in Russia. Among other courses at the Lenin School, students were trained in sabotage and guerrilla warfare techniques.

Hall returned to the United States in 1933 and became active in the Young Communist League as an organizer. Shortly thereafter he entered into full-time party work as a section organizer. A Russian-taught disciple of Leninistic communism, Hall worked hard and rose swiftly into positions of power. He became a member of the Party's national committee in 1945 and a member of the national board in 1947. In 1950 he was appointed national secretary, a move necessitated by the imprisonment of Eugene Dennis, the general secretary, who was found guilty of conspiring to violate the Smith Act of 1940.

Convicted of violating the same act himself, and facing confinement, Hall jumped \$20,000 bond and became a fugitive. Dyeing his blond hair, eyebrows, and lashes dark brown, he furthered his disguise by shaving off his mustache and shedding 40 pounds.

Hall's effort at concealment was unsuccessful. He was arrested by the FBI in 1951. Gus Hall was sentenced to serve 3 years in prison for contempt of court, in addition to the 5-year sentence imposed on him for conspiracy to violate the Smith Act.

Hall was conditionally released from prison in March 1957. His probationary period ended on April 5, 1959, and he immediately resumed his efforts directed toward the sovietization of America by becoming a member of the party's national executive committee.

Under the leadership of this Moscow-trained, utterly ruthless Communist, the 17th national convention formulated an organizational apparatus which is designed to make the Communist Party, USA, a formidable weapon against our free American society in the future. A 60-member national committee—actually a politburo—was established. Included in this group are such veteran Communist leaders as Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, James Jackson, Hyman Lumer, Arnold Samuel Johnson, and Irving Potash.

Theoretically this 60-member national committee governs the party between conventions. In actual fact, policy is made by a small ruling clique. This small clique consists of the party's national officers who were elected after the convention by the national committee.

The national officers are: William Z. Foster, chairman emeritus, Eugene Dennis, national chairman, Gus Hall, general secretary, Benjamin J. Davis, national secretary, Claude Lightfoot, vice chairman, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, vice chairman, Hyman Lumer, national education secretary, and James Jackson, editor of the Worker.

Dennis, Hall, Davis, Lumer, and Jackson comprise a five-man secretariat which is the day-to-day operating authority for the party.

Hall is indisputably the new party chief. Under him the party will remain in the future—as it has been in the past—completely subservient to Moscow.

Proof of the absolutely monolithic unity of the party was reemphasized at the convention just past. In the course of the convention certain changes were made in the party's constitution. These changes eliminated features stemming from the previous convention which allowed greater freedom to local party units. The 1959 changes wiped out this leeway and centralized control in national headquarters. Thus we see clearly the historic Communist principle of democratic centralism in perfect pattern. This principle asserts that once a decision has been made in the party it must be carried out without dissent.

Since Stalin's death, the party has been torn by factional disputes. Those responsible have been driven out or driven to cover. Hall exultantly declared that "we" now have one policy, one line and one direction. Strict discipline is the order of the day.

Jubilant party leaders are convinced that the visit of the Russian Premier to the United States has done much to create an atmosphere favorable to communism among Americans. The leaders believe the time is ripe for an increase in their activities with the resultant gain of influence in American life. Gus Hall's keynote address set forth the party's great issue.

Hall said: "The central question of this convention is: What is the role of the party in this entirely new situation? How can it now move out into the broad stream of the people's movement? How can it break the bonds of its isolation and become more and more effectively a factor in the life of our Nation?"

And he continued, "We want to participate in, organize and lead the broadest of united front movements—on every level—in 1,000 ways, in 10,000 places, on 100,000 issues—if possible, with 180 million people."

The Communist Party is buoyantly optimistic. It believes that the international

climate currently favors its work. And it is gearing plans to renew agitation in all fields on all fronts.

Americans must expect to see the enlargement of the party apparatus itself. They must be prepared for an increase in party influence throughout the Nation as a whole. They must expect the creation of scores of new Communist front groups and the launching of infiltration programs on every single level of American life. They must expect to see members of the Communist Party—champions of the Communist manifesto, which advocates force and violence, and of Lenin, who subscribes to the use of illegal tactics—seek to assume the mantle of socialism despite the fact that honest advocates of that philosophy reject the use of force and violence.

Party leaders recognize the fact that a strong party organization is essential to a successful agitation program. At the convention, therefore, concrete plans were laid for a nationwide recruitment program and for intensified training of party members. In the Communist Party, education (indoctrination) is vital. Every member must be imbued with the principles of Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

It was pointed out at the convention that the party's weekly publication, the Worker, is the party's lifeblood, and that strengthening it must be a chief aim. Circulation of the Worker is currently approximately 14,000. The party wants that number increased to 25,000 in 1960.

Where does a rejuvenated Communist Party expect to plant the seeds of communism in the near future? What groups are prime targets?

The Communist Party, USA, believes that if it is to survive, it must attract the youth of this Nation. American youth is, therefore, to be a major target of Communist agitation and propaganda. So are our Negro citizens. At the 17th national convention it was made clear that the recruitment theme is—as it has been in the past—to hold forth the Communist Party as the savior of the Negro.

It is no secret that one of the bitter disappointments of the Communist Party has been its failure to subvert the Negro citizens of America. The attempt to lure the Negro into the Communist fold is to be renewed with vigor. The pseudo concern of the party will be turned toward minority groups. Agitation and propaganda activities are to be directed toward such groups in the United States as the Mexicans, Japanese-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and the American Indian.

But our youth and our minority racial and nationality groups are by no means to be the sole targets of Communist agitation and propaganda.

Under the leadership of Irving Potash, there is to be a renewed attempt to infiltrate and dominate American labor unions. Potash, it is worth noting, has an arrest record dating back to 1919 for criminal anarchy, conspiracy to influence and intimidate witnesses, conspiracy to teach and advocate the overthrow of the U.S. Government by force and violence, and illegal reentry into this country.

Efforts will be made to gain the confidence of the farmer, to influence both major political parties and to make increasing inroads among college students.

In the field of international relations, the convention adopted a motion to instruct the new national committee to create a subcommittee on Latin American affairs. Certainly, we may anticipate that every effort will be made to deceive the American people and trick them into supporting the revolutionary movement in Latin America.

I have set forth briefly the "line" which the party expects to pursue with increased vigor in the future. Certainly, we may anticipate that every form of activity in the

field of agitation and propaganda will be increased. The drive for a "united front" in every field of endeavor may be anticipated. Such Communist publications as the Worker, Political Affairs and Mainstream will be supplemented by new propaganda sheets and front publicity.

There is no question but that as the worldwide menace of communism increases, the sinister tentacles coiling throughout the basic social life of the nations yet free become more dangerous. Experience of the past and evidence in the present indicate that the Communist Party always seeks to entrench itself and gain power by devious means in preparation for the historic moment when the time is ripe for a takeover by forceful means. Nothing, I think, reveals the basic duplicity and future intent of the Communist Party, U.S.A., more plainly than do words out of the mouth of its current leader.

At the close of the 17th national convention in December 1959, veteran reporters sought to question the new leader, Gus Hall (Newspapermen, of course, had been excluded from the convention). One of the questioners asked Hall if the Communist Party, U.S.A., advocates the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government. Hall, convicted in Federal court for conspiring to do just that, said blandly, "No, we have never advocated this."

Yet this is the same Gus Hall who, during his 1934 trial in Minneapolis, Minn., in connection with a riot there when he was a member of the Young Communist League, testified as follows:

Question But you would prefer the Russian—you would prefer to be in Russia?

Answer I prefer America with a Soviet government.

Question And you are willing to fight and overthrow this Government?

Answer Absolutely.

Question And you are willing to take up arms and overthrow the constituted authorities?

Answer When the time comes, yes. "When the time comes, yes." Concealed in those five simple words is to be found the deadly promise of communism in the future.

Mr. THURMOND: Mr. President, evidence that the campaign to discredit our military leaders had spread far beyond the confines of the Communist Party is not limited to the June 18 article in the New York Times. On June 28, 1961, there appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald an article, by Marquis Childs, entitled "Bichites Find Allies in Military." The essence of this article is criticism of the military for overstepping the traditional bounds of military propriety by speaking bluntly about the total nature of communism under authority of the directive of 1958. The opening paragraph of this article reads:

One of Secretary of Defense McNamara's goals is to make sure that the military is not playing politics under the guise of educating the public to the menace of the cold war.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of this article by Mr. Childs be printed at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### BICHITES FINDING ALLIES IN MILITARY (By Marquis Childs)

One of Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara's goals is to make sure that the military is not playing politics under the guise

of educating the public to the menace of the cold war.

It was an Eisenhower administration directive of 1958, still in force, that put the military in the business of helping to alert Americans to the need for an overall cold war strategy. This was a radical departure from American tradition which has held that the place of the military in American life is strictly limited to the professional task of training and equipping the armed services for the Nation's defense.

A memorandum recently sent from Capitol Hill to the White House and thence to the Department of Defense suggests that with the directive as a justification, some of the military are aiding and abetting the radical right which at the extreme end of the political spectrum is represented by the John Birch Society. This goes so far as to include opposition—implied if not open—to programs such as foreign aid championed by both Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy.

There is particular sensitivity about the foreign-aid issue, since the President is currently and somewhat belatedly trying to rally the widest possible support for his proposal to expand the scope of the foreign-aid program. For the radical right and certain of its military allies, spending for foreign aid is not merely a waste but perhaps downright subversive. Men in uniform have taken a leading part in, and in some instances have initiated, the memorandum points out "Alerts," "Seminars," "Freedom Forums," "Strategy for Survival Conferences," and "Fourth Dimensional Warfare Seminars."

"The content no doubt has varied from program to program," the study notes, "but running through all of them is a central theme that the primary, if not exclusive, danger to this country is internal Communist infiltration. Past and current international difficulties are often attributed to this or ascribed to 'softness,' 'sellouts,' 'appeasements,' et cetera. Radical rightwing speakers dominate the programs."

"The thesis of the nature of the Communist threat often is developed by equating social legislation with socialism and the latter with communism. Much of the administration's domestic legislative program including continuation of the graduated income tax, expansion of social security (particularly medical care under social security), Federal aid to education, et cetera under this philosophy, would be characterized as steps toward communism."

The memorandum cites several examples. One was a "Fourth Dimensional Warfare Seminar," sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce of Greater Pittsburgh in cooperation with various military organizations in the Pittsburgh area. The principal speaker was an Adm. Chester Ward (retired) who was quoted as saying that "some of the advisers now surrounding the President" have philosophies regarding foreign affairs "that would chill the typical American." He referred to Ambassador to the United Nations Adlai Stevenson and Ambassador to Yugoslavia George F. Kennan by name.

A year ago the U.S. Naval Air Station at Glenview, Ill., initiated an "Education for American Security" school. The speakers were for the most part professional anti-Communists who earn their living by specializing on the "danger from within" theme.

The fear of congressional and other critics of this approach is that far from uniting Americans in the face of a grave threat from the Communist challenge everywhere it has the opposite effect. By creating fear, suspicion, and hatred it sets Americans against each other. Hammering on the theme of infiltration and internal subversion, it suggests that professional agencies such as the FBI have failed to protect the Nation. Or, conversely, it implies that security agencies, preferably military, should be put in charge of indoctrination of the civil population.

A proper step has just been taken in putting the activities carried out within the scope of the directive of 1958 under the Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs, if the military is to take part in this kind of activity it should be at the very least be coordinated with the programs the Government is actively sponsoring.

There is little sense in one arm of the Government undercutting the policy that another arm of Government is trying to implement. The net effect is to make this country look so confused and so frightened as to be unable to contemplate the realities of the present-day world.

Mr. THURMOND: This article by Marquis Childs suggests that the administration's concern with this matter originated from a memorandum sent to the White House from Capitol Hill, but the article gives no indication concerning the source of the memorandum.

On July 10, 1961, concrete evidence that the campaign to censor and suppress the remarks of our military leaders was having effect appeared in the Department of Defense Directive No. 5122.5. This directive outlines the duties and responsibilities of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs. It is a subtle document, and can best be understood when carefully compared to the directive which it replaced. I ask unanimous consent, therefore, that Department of Defense Directive No. 5122.5 of July 10, 1961, and the directive which is superseded, Department of Defense Directive No. 5122.5 of February 27, 1959, both be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the directives were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE DIRECTIVE No. 5122.5, JULY 10, 1961

Subject: Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs)

##### I. GENERAL

Pursuant to the authority vested in the Secretary of Defense and the provisions of the National Security Act of 1947, as amended including the Department of Defense Reorganization Act of 1958, one of the positions of Assistant Secretary of Defense authorized by the act is hereby designated the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs) with responsibilities, functions, and authorities as prescribed herein.

##### II. RESPONSIBILITIES

The Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs) is the principal staff assistant to the Secretary of Defense for public information and community relations. He is responsible within the Department of Defense for an integrated Department of Defense public affairs program which will:

1. Provide the American people with maximum information about the Department of Defense consistent with national security.

2. Initiate and support activities contributing to good relations between the Department of Defense and all segments of the public at home and abroad. These activities will be carried out in overseas areas in collaboration with the Department of State and the U.S. Information Agency.

3. Plan for Department of Defense censorship activities during a declared national emergency.

##### III. FUNCTIONS

Under the direction, authority and control of the Secretary of Defense, the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs) shall perform the following functions in his assigned fields of responsibility:

1 Provide policy guidance to the Department of Defense on public affairs matters and approve public affairs aspects of actions which have national or international significance in the fields of public information and community relations

2 Develop public affairs plans, policies and programs in support of Department of Defense activities, and approve public affairs actions which have significance to Department of Defense plans, policies and programs

3 Provide for security review under the provisions of Executive Order 10501 of all material for public release and publication originated by the Department of Defense, including testimony before Congressional Committees, or by its contractors, departmental personnel as individuals, and material submitted by sources outside the Department for such review

4 Provide for review of official speeches, press releases, photographs, films, and other information originated within the Department of Defense for public release, or similar material submitted for review by other executive agencies of the Government. This review will be in conflict with established policies or programs of the Department of Defense or of the National Government

5 Provide news analysis and clipping service to the Secretary of Defense, Office of the Secretary of Defense, Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Military Departments, as required

6 Supervise the Department of Defense information declassification program

7 Evaluate and approve requests for Department of Defense cooperation in programs involving relations with the public

8 Administer a Department of Defense program for the accreditation of news media representatives to the Department, and prescribe attendant policies and procedures

9 Provide for approval of travel in military carriers of news media representatives, and of other nondefense personnel, for public affairs purposes

10 Provide the sole representation of the Department of Defense with regard to formulation or implementation of Government-wide plans, policies, and programs concerning public affairs

11 Coordinate public affairs in the Department of Defense with those of other departments and agencies of the Government

12 Provide for the receipt and evaluation of requests for speakers received by the Department of Defense, and, when required, assist in scheduling, programing, and drafting speeches for the participation of qualified personnel

13 Such other functions as the Secretary of Defense assigns

#### IV RELATIONSHIPS

A The Secretaries of the military departments and their military and civilian staffs shall exchange information and cooperate fully with the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs) and his staff in a continuous effort to achieve efficient and economical administration of the public affairs activities of the Department of Defense

B Commanders of the unified and specified commands established by the Secretary of Defense shall similarly cooperate with the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs) to insure that public affairs activities throughout all echelons of their commands properly reflect efficient and economical administration of public affairs activities as directed by the Secretary of Defense. The channel of communication for direction and guidance in public affairs matters shall be directly between those commands and the Secretary of Defense. As to such matters, the ASD(PA) is authorized to communicate directly with commanders of unified and specified commands, coordinating on operational matters with the Joint Chiefs of Staff and, as appropriate, with the military departments

C All major components of the Department of Defense shall secure the advice of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs) through established command channels before taking actions which have significant public affairs implications

D All major components of the Department of Defense shall provide pertinent information to the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs) to enable concurrent planning to the end that maximum information within the limits of national security can be made available to the public

E The Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs) shall coordinate actions, as appropriate, with the Secretaries of the military departments, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Office of the Secretary of Defense, and other agencies of the Department to insure responsive fulfillment of his responsibilities

F The Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs) shall, in the performance of his functions

1 Maintain liaison with and provide appropriate assistance to all information media with respect to matters relating to the activities of the Department of Defense

2 Maintain liaison with and assist private organizations with respect to matters relating to the activities of the Department of Defense

#### V AUTHORITIES

A The Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs), in the course of exercising full staff functions, is hereby specifically delegated authority to

1 Issue instructions and onetime directive-type memorandums in writing, appropriate to carrying out policies approved by the Secretary of Defense for his assigned fields of responsibilities, in accordance with Department of Defense Directive 5025.1. Instructions to the military departments will be issued through the Secretaries of those departments or their designees

2 Through channels established by statute, provide policy guidance to the commands and other organizational entities established by the Secretary of Defense for all public affairs activities, including the release of official information for publication through any form of information media, and the conduct of any informational programs directed in whole or in part to the general public

3 Obtain such reports and information (in accordance with the provisions of Department of Defense Directives 7700.1 and 5158.1) and assistance from the military departments and other Department of Defense agencies as may be necessary to the performance of his assigned functions

4 Act as the sole Department of Defense agency at the seat of government for the release of official information for dissemination through any form of public information media

5 Assure the implementation of all public affairs policies and procedures of the Department of Defense, and the integration of all Department of Defense Public Affairs plans, programs, and related activities

6 Establish the criteria and be the approving and issuing authority for all credentials required by the United States or foreign news gathering media representatives traveling in or outside the United States in connection with coverage of official Department of Defense activities

7 Approve military participation in public exhibitions, demonstrations, and ceremonies of national or international significance

8 Make use, as he deems necessary for carrying out his assigned responsibilities and functions, of established facilities in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, military departments, and other Department of Defense agencies.

9 Act as the sole agency of the Department of Defense for coordination of all matters covered by this directive with other departments and agencies of the Government, as appropriate

B Other authorities specifically delegated by the Secretary of Defense to the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs) will be referenced in an enclosure to this directive

#### VI DEFENSE PUBLIC AFFAIRS WORKING GROUP

There shall be a Defense Public Affairs Working Group to advise and assist the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs) in implementing the provisions of this directive. The Group shall consist of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs), as Chairman, the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs), and the Chiefs of Information of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps

#### VII CANCELLATION

Department of Defense Directive No 5122.5, dated February 27, 1959, is hereby canceled. Service regulations will be amended accordingly.

#### VIII EFFECTIVE DATE

This directive is effective immediately.  
 ROSWELL GILPATRICK,  
 Deputy Secretary of Defense

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE DIRECTIVE NO 5122.5,  
 FEBRUARY 27, 1959

Subject: Assistant Secretary of Defense  
 (Public Affairs)

#### I GENERAL

Pursuant to the authority vested in the Secretary of Defense and the provisions of the National Security Act of 1947, as amended, including the Department of Defense Reorganization Act of 1958, one of the positions of Assistant Secretary of Defense authorized by that act is hereby designated the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs) with responsibilities, functions, and authorities as prescribed herein

#### II RESPONSIBILITIES

The Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs) is the principal staff assistant to the Secretary of Defense for all public information activities. He is also the principal staff assistant for community relations. In addition, he is responsible for activities in other functional fields as follows:

- 1 Security review
- 2 Declassification of information

#### III FUNCTIONS

Under the direction, authority, and control of the Secretary of Defense, the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs) shall perform the following functions in his assigned fields of responsibility:

1 Advise and assist officials of the Department of Defense on public information and public relations aspects of Department of Defense policies, plans, and programs

2 Recommend policies and provide appropriate guidance and assistance to assure fulfillment of the Department's affirmative obligation to keep the public adequately informed as to its activities

3 Provide for the review from a security standpoint under the provisions of Executive Order 10501 of all material originated within the Department of Defense, including testimony before congressional committees, or by its contractors for public release or for publication by departmental personnel as individuals, and of material submitted by sources outside the Department for such review

4 Provide for the review of official speeches, press releases and other information originated within the Department of Defense for public release, or similar material submitted for review by other executive agencies of the Government, for conflict with established policies or programs of the Department of Defense or the National Government



5 Supervise the Department of Defense information declassification program

6 Provide for the receipt and evaluation of requests for speakers received by agencies of the Department of Defense, and when appropriate, assist in arranging for the participation of qualified personnel

7 Represent the Department of Defense with respect to formulation or implementation of Government-wide plans, policies, and programs concerning public information and public relations activities

8 Such other functions as the Secretary of Defense assigns

#### IV RELATIONSHIPS

A In the performance of his functions, the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs) shall

1 Coordinate actions, as appropriate, with the Secretaries of the military departments, the Joint Chiefs of Staff and other Department of Defense agencies having collateral or related functions in the field of his assigned responsibility

2 Maintain active liaison for the exchange of information and advice with the military departments and other Department of Defense agencies

3 Make full use of established facilities in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, military departments and other Department of Defense agencies rather than unnecessarily duplicating such facilities

4 Maintain liaison with and assist all information media with respect to matters relating to the activities of the Department of Defense

5 Maintain liaison with and assist national and civic organizations with respect to matters relating to the activities of the Department of Defense

B The channel of communication for direction and guidance in public affairs matters of concern to unified and specified commands shall be directly between those commands and the Secretary of Defense whenever such matters are determined by the commander of such a command to require direct control for the accomplishment of a mission assigned to his command, or whenever so directed by the Secretary of Defense. The Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs) is assigned staff responsibility as to such matters and he is authorized to communicate directly as to them with commanders of unified and specified commands, coordinating on operational matters with the Joint Chiefs of Staff and, as appropriate, with the military departments

C Public affairs matters affecting service components within unified and specified commands, except as provided above, will continue to be handled in military department channels

D The Secretaries of the military departments, their civilian assistants and the military personnel in such departments shall fully cooperate with the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs) and his staff in a continuous effort to achieve efficient administration of the Department of Defense and to carry out effectively the direction, authority and control of the Secretary of Defense

#### V AUTHORITIES

A. The Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs), in the course of exercising full staff functions, is hereby specifically delegated authority to

1 Issue instructions and one-time directive-type memorandums, in writing, appropriate to carrying out policies approved by the Secretary of Defense for his assigned fields of responsibilities in accordance with Department of Defense Directive 5025.1. Instructions to the military departments will be issued through the Secretaries of those departments or their designees

2 Obtain such reports and information (in accordance with the provisions of De-

partment of Defense Directives 7700.1 and 5158.1) and assistance from the military departments and other Department of Defense agencies as may be necessary to the performance of his assigned functions

3 Act as the sole agency at the seat of government for all elements of the Department of Defense, for the release of official information for publication through any form of information media

4 Assure the implementation of all public affairs policies and procedures of the Department of Defense, and the integration of all Department of Defense public affairs plans, programs and related activities

5 Establish the criteria and be the approving authority for all credentials required by the U.S. news-gathering media representatives traveling in or outside the United States in connection with coverage of official Department of Defense activities

6 Monitor military participation in public exhibitions, demonstrations and ceremonies of national or international significance

7 The Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs) shall be the sole agency of the Department of Defense for coordination of all matters covered by this directive with other departments and agencies of the Government as appropriate

B Other authorities specifically delegated by the Secretary of Defense to the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs) in other directives will be referenced in an enclosure to this directive

#### VI DEFENSE PUBLIC AFFAIRS COUNCIL

There will be a Defense Public Affairs Council to advise the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs). The Council shall consist of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs), as chairman, the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs) and the Chiefs of Information of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps

#### VII CANCELLATION

Department of Defense Directive 5122.5 dated August 17, 1957, and Secretary of Defense Memorandum of November 20, 1958, Subject "Public Affairs Responsibility for Unified and Specified Commands" are hereby canceled

#### VIII EFFECTIVE DATE

This directive is effective upon publication

NEIL MCELROY,  
Secretary of Defense

Mr THURMOND Some light was thrown on the broadened duties of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs at the press conference of Deputy Secretary of Defense Roswell Gilpatric on July 11, 1961, and I read from pertinent parts of Mr Gilpatric's press conference

Secondly, I would like to refer to another directive which at long last has been issued, setting forth the responsibilities of the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs, Mr Sylvester. The Department of Defense has been concerned since the beginning of this administration by inquiries from the public and the Congress concerning efforts by Department of Defense personnel to indoctrinate the public on nonmilitary matters

Our policy is that military personnel should in their public appearances stick to matters within their responsibility. And, as a further step toward carrying out that policy we have assigned to Mr Sylvester and Mr Lennartson the responsibility for providing policy guidance not only for all public affairs activities of the Department and its entities, but also for the conduct of any informational programs directed in whole or in part to the general public

Subsequently, during the press conference, Secretary Gilpatric was confronted with this question—and I quote from the press conference

May I ask you another question on that other announcement that you had

This is really not fair to ask a double-barreled question. On this business that Mr Sylvester is going to expand upon, will you enlarge on the need for this?

Mr Gilpatric's answer was—and I quote from the press conference

Ever since we have been here, we have been trying to stick to our business here, and we have been trying to have military spokesmen confine themselves to defense matters. We are not suggesting by this move that we are going to [sic] soft on communism or that we don't want the military to have their own views on the subject of what our national policy should be. But there are other organs and agencies of government that speak for those other areas. We just think that within this Department we ought to have policies which will enable spokesmen for the Department to stick to military matters

Last Friday, July 21, 1961, two stories of particular significance appeared in the press. I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows

[From the Washington Post, July 21, 1961]  
STUDY ASSERTS MILITARY RIGHTISTS RAISE OBSTACLES TO KENNEDY PROGRAM  
(By David Burnham)

A Senate Foreign Relations Committee memorandum has warned that rightwing propaganda activities by military officers may create "important obstacles" to President Kennedy's programs

The study, prepared for Committee Chairman J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, Democrat, of Arkansas, was made available to United Press International yesterday

The report said there was "considerable danger" in allowing the military to continue its present involvement in certain types of political campaigns in the United States

#### STUDY CITES 11 CASES

The staff study included a list and capsule description of 11 cases of "education and propaganda activities of military personnel" which have been uncovered during the last year

"These propaganda activities" it said "may well become important obstacles to public acceptance of the President's program and leadership, if they are not already"

A second congressional committee has launched a behind-the-scenes investigation of the activities mentioned in the Senate report, it was learned

The memorandum said the nature of the various propaganda activities has varied. "But running through all of them is a central theme that the primary, if not exclusive, danger to this country is internal Communist infiltration," it said

The report said the "thesis of the nature of the Communist threat often is developed by equating social legislation with socialism and the latter with communism"

"Much of the administration's domestic legislative program under this philosophy would be characterized as steps toward communism," the memorandum continued

"This view of the Communist menace renders foreign aid, cultural exchanges, disarmament negotiations and other international programs as extremely wasteful if not actually subversive," it said

The memorandum said that during the long haul of the cold war that "radicalism on the right can be expected to have great mass appeal. It offers the simple solution, easily understood. Scouring of the devils within the body politic, or, in the extreme, lashing out at the enemy."

Staff investigators with the second congressional committee said the recent rash of political propaganda activities apparently stems from a top secret directive issued by the National Security Council in 1958.

Immediately after the directive was sent to the Pentagon, they said, the Joint Chiefs of Staff issued an order directing the services to establish individual cold war programs.

The Senate study called on President Kennedy to reconsider the 1958 National Security Council directive.

It also called for an examination of the relationship between the Foreign Policy Research Institute, the Institute for American Strategy, the Richardson Foundation, the National War College, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

It said this examination should try to determine whether "these relationships do not amount to official support for a viewpoint in variance with that of the administration."

While admitting that the parallel might seem "fa' fetched," the report mentioned the revolt of the French generals as "an example of the ultimate danger."

[From the New York Times, July 21, 1961]

#### US CURBS OFFICERS IN RIGHTWING TALKS (By Cabell Phillips)

WASHINGTON, July 20—The Defense Department has issued a directive placing restraints on the freedom of military officers to advocate rightwing political theories in official public appearances.

This action resulted from a critical memorandum from Senator J. W. Fulbright, Democrat, of Arkansas, to the White House and to Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara. Mr. Fulbright is chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The memorandum, written a month ago, came to light today.

It cited a growing pattern of high military officers engaging in or sponsoring a variety of educational programs ostensibly designed to familiarize both their troops and the civilian community with the problems and issues of the cold war. Such programs it was contended, often veer into rightwing radicalism, which expounds positions that are at variance with established goals and policies of the Government.

Shortly after the receipt of the Fulbright memorandum, and a subsequent conference between the Senator and Mr. McNamara, a directive was issued reinforcing the authority of the Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs to provide "policy guidance [for] . . . the conduct of any informational programs directed in whole or in part to the general public."

#### HOUSE PANEL INQUIRY

Another outgrowth of the memorandum, it was learned today, was the decision by the Government Information Subcommittee, headed by Representative John E. Moss, Democrat, of California, to open its own inquiry into the field. A spokesman for the committee said today that the group had completed a staff study of what he described as "rightwing propaganda by the military." He also said that a field investigator would start on-the-scene studies next week covering a number of Army and Navy installations in this country.

Senator Fulbright refused comment today beyond saying that such a memorandum had been prepared for his use by the staff of the Foreign Relations Committee and that

he had transmitted it to the Secretary of Defense.

However, it is known that his concern, as well as that of Representative Moss, is directed exclusively at so-called extremists among military officers who utilize the public anxiety over the cold war to stir up extravagant fears about the dangers of Communist subversion within the Government and among domestic institutions.

#### SOME SEMINARS EXCLUDED

They exclude from their concern those cold war seminars and institutes that stay clear of partisan political implications.

The 22-page Fulbright memorandum cited a dozen instances in which military officers either participated in, or actively sponsored, a variety of "forums," "seminars," "schools," and "alerts" designed to increase public awareness "of the nature of the Communist menace." It went on:

"The content no doubt has varied from program to program but running through all of them is a central theme that the primary, if not exclusive, danger to this country is internal Communist infiltration. Past and current international difficulties are often attributed to this, or ascribed to 'softness,' 'sellouts,' 'appeasements,' etc. Radical rightwing speakers dominate the programs."

#### COLD WAR DIRECTIVE

The memorandum noted that much of the activity complained of had been justified on the ground that it was in implementation of a "cold war" directive of the National Security Council prepared in 1958.

"The view of the menace of the cold war described above already has a great appeal to the public. If the military is infected with this virus of rightwing radicalism, the danger is worthy of attention. If it believes the public is, the danger is enhanced. If, by the process of the military 'educating' the public, the fevers of both groups are raised, the danger is great indeed."

Among the recommendations offered by Senator Fulbright were the following:

That the cold war directive be reconsidered. That the White House and Pentagon cease treating such propaganda activities as isolated disciplinary problems by bringing them under stricter civilian control.

That the role of the National War College in providing instruction on cold war problems be reviewed, and particularly the relation to the college of such private groups as the Foreign Policy Research Institute, the Institute for American Strategy, and the Richardson Foundation.

The Defense Department directive, which was issued on July 10, falls short of encompassing all these recommendations. In effect, it does no more than reiterate the broad responsibility in the field of education and information of the Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs.

But among the special functions it spells out is his authority to provide guidance for all informational programs directed in whole or in part to the general public.

Mr. THURMOND. One of these appeared in the New York Times, again over the byline of Cabell Phillips. The article is entitled "United States Curbs Officers in Right-Wing Talks." The Phillips article is of the same nature as the previous article by this writer in the June 18 issue of the New York Times. The other story appeared in the Washington Post and Times-Herald, over the byline of David Burnham of the UPI, and is entitled "Study Asserts Military Rightists Raise Obstacles to Kennedy Program." The Burnham article attributes a critical study of military leaders' anticommunist indoctrination activ-

ities to a memorandum of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The New York Times article is a commentary on the same memorandum, and is attributed by the Times article to the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate.

It is interesting to compare the description of the memorandum referred to in the two later articles with the article published over Cabell Phillips' byline in the New York Times of June 18. One cannot escape the conclusion, after such a comparison, that the June 18 article, written by Cabell Phillips, was based on the content of the memorandum referred to in the subsequent articles.

Upon reading these articles on the morning of Friday, July 12, 1961, I immediately attempted by every means known to me to obtain a copy of the memorandum on which the articles were based, and which had obviously been released to the press. To date, I have still been unable either to obtain a copy of this memorandum or to see its text. According to the article in the July 21 issue of the Times, the memorandum was the basis of affirmative action by the Department of Defense. The news report states:

The Defense Department has issued a directive placing restraints on the freedom of military officers to advocate right-wing political theories in official public appearances.

This action resulted from a critical memorandum from Senator J. W. Fulbright, Democrat, of Arkansas, to the White House and to Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara. Mr. Fulbright is chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The memorandum, written a month ago, came to light today.

On the morning of July 21, I issued a news release with regard to these articles and the memorandum which they discussed. I ask unanimous consent that the text of my news release of July 21 be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR STROM THURMOND, DEMOCRAT, OF SOUTH CAROLINA, ON SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE MEMORANDUM ABOUT CURBING MILITARY SPEAKERS ON THE SUBJECT OF COMMUNISM, JULY 21, 1961.

The reports of the morning press reveal a dastardly attempt to intimidate the commanders of U.S. Armed Forces and prevent those commanders from teaching their troops the nature of the menace of world communism. This constitutes a serious blow to the security of the United States, and is all the more alarming because the move originated, according to press reports, in a committee of the U.S. Senate.

The principal source of strength of the United States lies in an understanding by our citizens of the principles of government on which our country was founded and the vast gulf between these principles and the insidious nature of world communism. There is particular need for such an understanding by members of our Armed Forces, as is demonstrated by the fact that about 38 percent of the American troops captured by the Communists in Korea are reported to have given comfort to the enemy. Only thorough training of our troops can bring such an understanding. They must know

and understand their enemy, and so must the American public—and too many do not fully understand the insidious nature and operations of world communism.

The memorandum which originated within the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, according to press reports, charged that the military is teaching the troops that our defeats in the war against communism are the results of appeasement and a "soft attitude" by our own Government. I hope the charge is correct, for it refortifies my belief that our military officers do understand the threat from communism, and are giving their personnel the truth, and knowledge of the truth is the only means by which our troops can be equipped to combat effectively the communist evil.

In the Defense Department among military personnel lies the real bastion of knowledge and understanding of the Communist threat, an understanding and knowledge long since lacking in the White House, the State Department, and other agencies of the National Government, if we are to judge by their actions. Suppression of the military's dissemination of this knowledge would be disastrous.

If the military teaches the true nature of communism, it must necessarily teach that communism is fundamentally socialism. When socialism, in turn, is understood, one cannot help but realize that many of the domestic programs advocated in the United States, and many of those adopted, fall clearly within the category of socialism. Military leaders in this case are rightly teaching the truth, and as is often the case, the truth can and does hurt.

I have requested a copy of the memorandum prepared by the staff of the Foreign Relations Committee from the committee and from its chairman, but have been refused a copy, although it was released to the press yesterday. I am advised by another member of the committee that he had no knowledge of the memorandum, and that the action with regard to this matter was taken exclusively by the chairman of the committee. I am glad and relieved to learn that the full committee did not join in this damaging action, and I hope the press will give full coverage to the fact that this attempt to intimidate military commanders has no broad support in the Congress.

Mr. THURMOND: Although the memorandum itself is not available, the news stories in the New York Times and the Washington Post and Times Herald gave the meat of the memorandum and the basis of the criticism of the anti-Communist indoctrinations by our military leaders. Mr. President, it is interesting to note what type of information is being disseminated by our military leaders which the American public cannot be trusted to evaluate for itself. The basis of the criticism of our military leaders' anti-Communist indoctrination material is in fact just as revealing as the secrecy of the methods and means by which it is sought to intimidate and gag these military leaders.

No specific instances or quotations from military officers are included in these press reports of the memorandum, which supposedly prompted the curb on anti-Communist indoctrination by military leaders. The press reports do quote the memorandum, however, as saying—

The content no doubt has varied from program to program but running through all of them is a central theme that the primary, if not exclusive, danger to this country is internal Communist infiltration. Past and current international difficulties are often attributed to this, or ascribed to "softness," "sellouts," "appeasement," etc.

Mr. President, I personally find it hard—in fact, almost impossible—to believe that our military leaders underrate the threat to our country from the armed forces and armed might of the Communists, or that our military leaders relegate the threat constituted by the Communist armed forces to a secondary position among the overall threats of the many-sided Communist aggression. I have had occasion to come in contact with many of our top military leaders, both recently and over a period of years, and I have found them highly concerned with the continuous buildup of armed might by Communist nations and the threat to the free world which such a buildup constitutes.

On the other hand, Mr. President, our military leaders would be blind if they did not recognize, and would be derelict in their duty if they did not state, that communism constitutes a much broader threat in its total nature than that exclusively comprised by their armed forces. Indeed, the gains by communism over peoples and territories had stemmed, not primarily from military actions of the Communists, but from other methods of aggression to which they have resorted, and, indeed, to our own softness, naiveté, and appeasement of them. For instance, Communist Russia did not occupy and conquer by military might alone the territory and peoples of Eastern Europe. They are not in Berlin, in Germany, and in Poland solely by virtue of their military successes. These gains were secured by the Russians through the means of negotiation at Yalta and at Potsdam. China did not fall to the Communists just because of their superior military potential, for there is serious doubt that they would have ever succeeded in the absence of the official attitude by our own Government, based on the stated belief by our leaders that the Communist Chinese, under Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-Lai, were no more than agrarian reformers. Coming to a more recent period, our gullibility again resulted in Communist gains when our Government lent its support to the Red dictator of Cuba when he made his bid for power.

Mr. President, the terms "appeasement" and "soft on communism" are difficult to define, and are susceptible of being interpreted with rather broad latitude, when applied to any specific action or actions of Government, but if, however, they are broad enough to embrace an almost fantastic gullibility, the terms are applicable to our previous actions and are in no small measure responsible for many of the Communist gains. There can be no truthful denial that our country and its leaders have, on many occasions in the past, accepted the most thinly veiled Communist fronts for whatever they purported themselves to be. In short, we have been naive to the point of stupidity, and thereby have contributed immeasurably to Communist successes. If, therefore, our military leaders are stating the full and complete facts about our dealings with communism, as they have been revealed in official documents of our Government, one could easily and logically assume from such facts that many of our past de-

feats by communism are attributable, at least in part, to softness by us toward communism and, in some instances, to outright appeasement of communism by our Government.

The articles of July 21 also quote the memorandum purportedly responsible for the official actions taken to hush military leaders as saying that "the thesis of the nature of the Communist threat often is developed by equating social legislation with socialism and the latter with communism." Mr. President, my research has revealed no instances of a military leader using this specific approach, but our military leaders might well justifiably use such an approach, for it is correct. About 3½ months before Nikita Khrushchev visited the United States, he stated:

We cannot expect the Americans to jump from capitalism to communism, but we can assist their elected leaders in giving Americans small doses of socialism, until they suddenly awake to find they have communism.

The enemy at least is blunt and candid about the nature of the threat it constitutes to our liberty. It appears, however, that candor about the qualities and nature of the enemy on the part of our military, who are sworn to defend our Constitution against enemies, foreign and domestic, is an impropriety on their part which must be curtailed. How absurd can we be?

Mr. President, for anyone who really wants to know, there is a wealth of material available equating the fundamental bases of socialism and communism. Some of the best authorities on their equivalence are the Communists and Socialists themselves. For instance, in July 1956, there appeared in another organ of the Communist Party, U.S.A., *Masses and Mainstream*, an article entitled "Is There a Common Ground?" This article was written by G. D. H. Cole, a British Socialist writer. In this article on Communist policy the writer sets forth four fundamental areas of total agreement between socialism and communism. Two of these areas are particularly pertinent to the question of whether welfare statism, socialism, and communism may be equated with accuracy. In listing and discussing the areas of common ground between socialism and communism, this article states:

First and most obviously, the belief that the essential instruments of production ought to be collectively owned and used in the service of the whole society and its people and furthering the common interest of all the peoples of the world. They are all against capitalism—that is against private exploitation of the world's resources, and all those who work upon them for the pursuit of private profit.

It is obvious, therefore, Mr. President, that communism and socialism must be equated in their antagonism to and antipathy for the concept of private property and the profit motive, which is the essence of our economic system.

The article continues:

Secondly, Communists and socialists agree in seeking to establish for all peoples some sort of welfare state or society.

These assertions are made by a Communist and printed in an organ of Communist policy for the guidance of Com-



**munists** These are facts—facts about communism, and, incidentally, about socialism. There is no attempt by the Communists to conceal the close relationship and overwhelming similarity between communism and socialism. Yet, according to the press reports, the memorandum prepared and forwarded to the President and the Department of Defense insists that our military leaders must be prevented from stating these same facts to their troops and to the American public.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article entitled "Is There a Common Ground?" by G. D. H. Cole, appearing in volume 9, No. 6 of *Masses and Mainstream*, dated July 1959, be printed in the *RECORD* at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the *RECORD*, as follows:

#### IS THERE A COMMON GROUND?

(By G. D. H. Cole)

"Socialism and communism have nothing in common." These are the opening words of a statement issued last month by the Bureau of the Socialist International. What nonsense they are. Indeed, what nonsense even those who approved the statement must know them to be. I do not dispute that there are immense and deep differences between the doctrines upheld by the Social Democratic and Labour Parties which form the Socialist International and those upheld by the Communist Parties which until the other day were united in the Cominform. But even between these two groups—neither of which can be completely identified with "socialism" or "communism"—it is sheer nonsense to say that there is nothing in common. The differences between them may be wide and deep enough to stand formidably in the way of cooperation, but, even so, there are beyond question many ideas that are common to both. Fully as much as Roman Catholics and Protestants and Orthodox have in common that they are all Christian churches, Social Democrats, and Communists of the late Cominform brand, and also Yugoslav Communists, Nenni Socialists in Italy, and the Socialists of the Asian International are all Socialists, albeit of different kinds, and with different traditions.

What have they in common? First and most obviously, the belief that the essential instruments of production ought to be collectively owned and used in the service of the whole society and its people and for furthering the common interests of all the peoples of the world. They are all against capitalism—that is against private exploitation of the world's resources, and of those who work upon them, for the pursuit of private profit. They may hold varying views about the most appropriate forms of collective or social ownership, but this is not an issue on which a sharp line can be drawn between Communist and Socialist views. It is not a matter on which Social Democrats are in full agreement, or on which there is a single, uniform Communist dogma applicable to all countries or to all branches of production or service.

Second, Communists and Socialists agree in seeking to establish for all peoples some sort of welfare state or society, in which great attention is paid to providing the widest possible social and educational opportunities, a high degree of economic security, adequate conditions of living for children and old people as well as for the working producers, good and generally available health services, and a host of other social services resting on a recognition of basic human claims. Here again, there is

no sharp line between Communists and Social Democrats: there are differences in what is done and advocated under different conditions from one country to another, but there is no difference of fundamental principle in this wide field of social action.

Third, it is a matter of agreement between Communists and Social Democrats that no one sound in body and mind has any good claim to live on the product of other men's labor, without contributing a fair quota of his own, and that accordingly the forms of unearned income which allow this ought to be swept away. There are differences concerning the means of bringing this about, and the speed at which it should be done, but there is, I think, no difference concerning the end in view, though there are differences both between Communists and Social Democrats and also within both groups about the extent of economic equality that is consistent with Socialist principles.

Fourth, Social Democrats and Communists are at one in believing that the main responsibility for the building of the new society rests on the working class, and that the organized working class movement must supply the main driving force for its achievement. There are, indeed, deep differences about the ways in which the workers should organize themselves for this purpose, and about the methods they should use in order to carry off the victory. But there is a common belief in the creative function of the working class and about its historic mission to create the conditions requisite for a classless society.

These are four very large and important points of agreement between Socialists and Communists of every sort and kind, and they are so plain that it is evidently ridiculous to ignore them. Indeed, the leaders of the Socialist International cannot possibly be taken as meaning what they say: what they do mean is that, despite all that various forms of socialism and communism have in common, their points of difference with the Cominform parties are so deep and so important as to render any cooperation impossible.

Is this really the case? And if it is, where is the line to be drawn? Are the Yugoslav Communists to be put beyond the pale because they are Communists, through their deviations have been most vehemently denounced by the Cominform leaders—at any rate until the quite recent, post-Stalin change of front? Are the Chinese Communists, or only those of the Soviet Union and its satellites, held to be untouchable? What is to be said about the major Italian Socialist party, headed by Nenni, which has cooperated with the Italian Communists, but has never accepted communism? What of the Asian Socialists who mistrust the Socialist International as failing to show a sufficient hostility to colonialism and imperialism? Are they, too, to be ostracized? And finally, what of the miscellaneous Socialist or Communist groups that are usually dubbed "Trotskyites," and are certainly no friends to the communism practiced in the Soviet Union? Are they, too, beyond the pale, and, if so, is it because they are Communists, or rather because they are a nuisance to the main organizations of both communism and social democracy?

These questions are not easy to answer, as they no doubt would be if there were really two utterly different doctrines—socialism and communism—each offering a coherent body of opinion plainly and completely different from the other's. This however, is not the situation with which we are actually faced. Social Democrats and Communists do differ deeply, in ways that involve strong emotions as well as conflicting arguments, but they do not differ entirely—only in certain very important respects.

In the Socialist International's recent statement, as in the once-famous declaration of the Second International in 1919, great emphasis is put on the inseparable connection between socialism and democracy. "We believe in democracy," says the statement, "they do not." What is this "democracy," which is thus proclaimed to be the impassable dividing line? The statement does not say it only adds that "without freedom there can be no socialism," and that "socialism can be achieved only through democracy." It is, however, I think clear that "democracy" in this context means a parliamentary system based on something near universal suffrage and rendering possible the advance to socialism by legislative and executive action through a parliament so chosen and through an executive government responsible to parliament. These, I agree, are institutions of high importance, and can be used, where they exist and are deeply rooted in the popular consciousness, as instruments for the advance toward socialism and, potentially, as means of arriving at a Socialist society.

But what are Socialists expected to do where such instruments either do not exist at all, or fall a long way short of being usable to bring about fundamental social change? Is it their task, in such circumstances, to devote all their energies to agitating for a democratic system of responsible parliamentary government and to postpone all attempts to establish socialism until they have succeeded in establishing such a system and in winning over a majority of electors and representatives to the Socialist cause? What are they to do if, when they attempt such agitation, they are put in prison, or even executed, and their organizations broken up and proscribed? What are they to do if the road to democracy is effectively barred by the ruling classes? Are they not justified, in such circumstances, in making a revolution and using it to establish not only democracy, as far as it is possible, but socialism as well? And, if they do make a revolution in a society that has never experienced parliamentary government or any sort of democracy, is it to be expected that they will be able, on the morrow of the revolution, suddenly to establish a fully democratic parliamentary system, whereas it has taken the most advanced countries centuries of effort to achieve much less than this? It is nonsense to lay down, for all the world, either that parliamentary democracy is the only road to socialism or that, where the means of advance toward socialism have been made open only by revolution, the victors in the revolution must at once set up a complete system of parliamentary democracy whether or not the people are ready for such a system.

Yet this is what the Socialist International appears to be calling on Socialists all over the world to do. I agree with it in disliking intensely the forms of one-party dictatorship that have been adopted in the Soviet Union and in countries that have followed the Soviet road and in condemning, not merely the excesses of Stalinism, but also the whole apparatus of Communist dictatorship, with its silencing of free expression of conflicting opinions and its treatment of every divergence from the party line as treason calling for condign punishment. I agree that such methods poison socialism and are deeply demoralizing to those who use them or are drawn into participation in their use. I agree that terrible, horrible things have been done in the name of socialism by those who have exalted such practices into virtues, and that it is necessary to call upon those who have been responsible for such doings to renounce them, and to amend their ways.

But, I am conscious of the enormous difficulties which have confronted the would-be builders of socialism in such countries as

Russia and China. I am not prepared to put such persons, or their parties, beyond the pale, or to refuse to admit that they had valid reasons for not following the parliamentary-democratic way, though I none the less take strong objection, on moral grounds as well as on grounds of Socialist expediency, to a great deal that they have done.

Thus, I do not see how the Russians could have made their revolution at all, or upheld it against counterrevolution and foreign intervention, without resorting to largely dictatorial methods. What is called war communism was, for the most part, an unavoidable consequence of civil war and foreign attempts to destroy the revolution. But, when the fighting was over, an attempt could have been made, and was not made, to restore free speech, to allow a resumption, even if gradual, of party activities, especially by rival Socialist groups, and to enlist the free cooperation of those who were prepared to serve the new Russia and to refrain from counterrevolutionary attempts. The rot set in when, instead of advancing, even cautiously, in this direction, the Bolsheviks both substituted the rule of their party for that of the Soviets and, within the party, allowed democracy to be replaced by monolithic control by a narrow group of leaders, thus opening the road to Stalin's personal dictatorship through his control of the party machine.

This fundamentally wrong course arose out of the doctrine of Lenin himself. For Lenin, who directed his entire thoughts to the means of making the revolution rather than to what would need doing after it, was the begetter of the whole concept of party dictatorship, through not of its subsequent perversion under Stalin's influence. Lenin did at least believe in free discussion within the party, until a decision had been reached—not in the imposition of policy from above upon the party, which would then impose it on everyone else. I am opposed to Lenin's conception of dictatorship, as well as to Stalin's. But there is a real difference. A good deal of what Lenin insisted on was unavoidable under the conditions of war and civil war. What Stalin and his chief collaborators—many of whom he subsequently liquidated—set out to do was wrong in any circumstances.

That is why I regard the recent repudiation of Stalinism as involving much more than a mere rejection of the cult of personality, and see it as leading on, whether its sponsors wish or not, toward a return to democracy both within the Communist Party and, presently, over a much wider field. I do not, however, see it as necessarily leading to the institution of parliamentary government on the western model. I do not think that parliaments are necessarily superior to Soviets, or vice versa. There is more than one possible model of democratic government, and the type that is to be preferred depends on the historic experience and tradition of the people who are to accept it as their way of political life. There are, however, certain conditions that any humanly satisfactory system must be designed to meet.

It must allow wide freedom for the expression of divergent opinions, within limits that are bound to exist in any society and will vary according to the situation. It must allow freedom to organize for the furtherance of such opinions, within similar limits, and these freedoms must include personal security for those who advocate the various opinions against arbitrary arrest or liquidation. To this extent, it is true that "without freedom there can be no socialism," or rather no socialism it is legitimate to pursue, though in conditions of war, civil or international, or of immediate danger of war, the limits will unavoidably be narrower than in conditions of peace and relative security.

Thus, in the present situation, I not only welcome the signs of some appreciation of past misdeeds on the part of the leaders in the Soviet Union and other Communist countries, but also believe that Social Democrats must get ready to hold out the hand of friendship to men with whom, despite all their differences, they do have a great deal in common. I do not suggest that the time has come for "Cominform" Communists and Social Democrats to sink their differences, but I do hold (1) that it is time for friendly discussion between the parties of the Socialist International and such bodies as the Yugoslav Communists, the Nenni Socialists, and the Asian and African anti-imperialists, and (2) it is time, too, for the Social Democratic parties to ask themselves seriously whether they are doing their utmost to establish socialism in their own countries, and if not, why not.

I also believe the time has come for individual Socialists and Communists to begin talking with one another, very seriously and with the least possible mutual recrimination, about the issues that divide them, in the hope that they may, even if only in the long run, succeed in building on what is agreed between them a basis for reuniting the world working-class movement for a common struggle against capitalism, imperialism and reaction. For, finally, what nonsense it is to suppose that a Socialist world can be built by Socialists (including Communists) who spend more time and energy in denouncing one another than in combating their common enemies.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Congress and the American public need to know about communism and this article is very revealing concerning the interrelation of communism and socialism.

Mr. President, there can be no question but that some, even in high places in our Government, are not aware of the interrelation between communism and socialism, and, incidentally, socialism is nothing more or less than the welfare state. On January 31, 1961, Mr. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., one of the official staff members of the President, is reported to have stated that the welfare state is the best defense against communism. Nothing could be more absurd and no statement is more indicative of naivete and misunderstanding of the nature of communism than this statement. I ask unanimous consent that a statement I made in reply to this comment of Mr. Schlesinger's be printed in the Record at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

STATEMENT OF SENATOR STROM THURMOND, DEMOCRAT, OF SOUTH CAROLINA ON SENATE FLOOR, FEBRUARY 2, 1961

Mr. President, on January 31, the United Press International quotes Mr. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., presidential assistant and speechwriter, as asserting that the welfare state is the best defense against communism. While the news report states that Mr. Schlesinger emphasizes that he was speaking as an individual and not for the Kennedy administration, this marks the first time, to my knowledge, that a person in such an influential position in Government has made such an admission. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Record at this point in my remarks.

Not only is the welfare state no defense against communism, Mr. President, but there is a serious question as to whether, in prac-

tical effect, the welfare state is even an alternative to communism. Both, in essence, are founded on the identical theories of state socialism and are equally antagonistic to the concept of private property. Under communism all property is vested in the state, under the welfare state, the outward vestiges or title to property remain in the individual, but all meaningful attributes of property are exercised by the state through regulation, control, and taxation. Whatever differences might exist are differences in form, rather than substance. The basic premise of both communism and welfare statism is that individual responsibility and initiative are unreliable for accomplishment of the goal for society which both profess, and their goal is conceived solely in terms of materialistic values. Welfare statism must, therefore, be equated with communism in its mistrust of individual liberty and reliance on state control.

If Mr. Schlesinger really meant to imply that we could avert communism by embracing welfare statism, then he is probably correct, for it is improbable that efforts to replace a political system with an identical one under another name, or with one differing only in form, would even be attempted. A defense against communism, however, the welfare state could not be, for between the two, there may be a distinction, but it is a distinction without a difference.

Mr. THURMOND. Also, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a radio address which I made on April 6, 1961, concerning the interrelation of the welfare state and socialism be printed in the Record at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

RADIO ADDRESS BY SENATOR STROM THURMOND, DEMOCRAT OF SOUTH CAROLINA, FOR MANION FORUM OF THE AIR

I welcome this opportunity to discuss with you what I consider to be a need for the American people to substitute a little more realistic self-appraisal in place of some of the voluminous self-criticism which apparently has become a fad with Americans.

Criticism, when constructive, has a distinct value to those criticized, and with this type of criticism, I have no quarrel. There is a limit to the amount of criticism which can be made constructively, however, beyond which criticism becomes no more than fault-finding. As a Nation, the United States receives adequate doses of fault-finding from our adversaries, the Communists, and from them, we should expect the criticism to be exaggerated and irresponsible. I cannot conceive that Americans could acquire a national inferiority complex as a result of criticism from these sources, but when we are subjected to an even greater volume of fault-finding originating from domestic sources, we face the danger of developing an inferiority complex as a national characteristic.

For months, even years, we have increasingly been inundated by domestically originated fault-finding, much of which can be classified as "gaps," for we are reminded constantly of the "missile gap," the "dollar gap," the "education gap," and the "production gap," to mention a few. It is one thing to be realistically aware of our deficiencies in order to avoid the stultification of self-satisfaction, it is another thing altogether to undermine confidence in the great fundamentals of our political and economic systems.

We are engaged in a life and death struggle with communism, and our survival depends on our ability to convince the world of the advantages of our system over communism. If we are to succeed, it is not suffi-

cient for us to know and be able to show the world the defects of our opponents' system, for success rarely attends a negative approach. We must also understand and fully appreciate the advantages of our own system in order to convince others that our system has more to offer.

So obsessed have we, as a nation, and our political leaders, become, that too often when referring to our own system, a tone of apology is taken. Particularly is this true when the subject of discussion is economic systems. The Communists have planted deeply in the minds of the entire world that the present struggle is between communism and capitalism. Their propaganda is directed to the differences in economic systems, rather than to the differences between the republican form of government and dictatorships. While we should stress the latter, there is no reason for failing to meet the Communists in a battle of ideas on the merits of capitalism versus communism. Our economic system is, or should be, capitalism, for it is the only economic system compatible with political freedom. Not only does capitalism need no apology, but if understood and articulately presented, it is irresistible.

Capitalism is no more and no less than economic liberty, and it goes hand in hand with political liberty. Webster defines capitalism as "The economic system in which the ownership of land and natural wealth, the production, distribution and exchange of goods, the employment and reward of human labor, and the extension, organization, and operation of the system itself, are entrusted to, and affected by, private enterprise and control under competitive conditions." Apologies for such a system can only arise out of ignorance or fuzzy thinking about it.

The essence of capitalism is competition. Competition, in turn, decrees that production is designed to accomplish, not what governmental authority decides is best but what the individuals that comprise the society want. The incentive in the system is geared to satisfying the individuals—not just a few individuals, but the wants of the maximum number of individuals. The customer is necessarily the center of attraction under our economic system.

Communism cannot compare with capitalism, even in the materialistic field on which it is based. The United States has 6 percent of the world's population, but our capitalistic system has rewarded us with 75 percent of all the automobiles and 57 percent of all the telephones in the world. In one of our towns with a population of less than 75,000—Kalamazoo, Mich.—the people have three or four times as many refrigerators, washing machines, and dishwashers as Moscow with its population of five million.

Admittedly, our economic system has its ups and downs, as do each of us in our own lives. But we need to remember, that even in recession, our economic system is superior.

The benefits of our capitalistic system are not restricted to material goods, however. Wealth is a tool by which an individual in a free society can express his political liberty. The fruits of our economic system are weapons for the protection of our political system. More important, capitalism provides the most essential ingredient of a free society—the opportunity for each individual to achieve his own destiny, limited only by the talents nature gave him and the industry with which he develops and applies them.

In our struggle with communism, our failure to understand and appreciate our own economic systems threatens the immediate loss of many free world nations to communism. Internally, the same fuzzy thinking opens the door to the replacement of capitalism with socialism.

Because there is no Socialist Party, as such, of any consequence on the American

political scene, many Americans discount the socialistic assault on our economic system. The Socialist political party proved too direct for Americans, even in a depression, and the Socialists have adopted a new approach which is proving more successful. It is still socialism, pure and simple, but is most accurately called "welfare statism." The reason for the success of the new approach after the failure of earlier efforts is apparent.

The principal aim of the Socialist Party effort is "nationalization." This lacks in appeal to Americans, for it is too open and aboveboard, seeking to change the form, as well as the substance, of our economic system.

The welfare-state approach is much more subtle. Indeed, nationalization is condemned by the welfare-statists. There is no need for a separate political effort, for its concepts can be rationalized into harmony with the platforms of existing political parties. This is possible because the welfare-stater's approach includes no change in the form of the capitalistic system. Instead, it utilizes a subterfuge, which, transparent though it is, obviously deceives a great many people. Rather than attaining socialism through ownership by the State, the welfare-state concept achieves socialism through regulation and control by the State, while leaving the outward vestiges of ownership in private hands. Unfortunately, this system is equally as destructive of capitalism as is outright government ownership of property accomplished by nationalization.

Our economic system, capitalism, has proved superior because it has fostered unsurpassed creativity, which, in the framework of economic production, takes the form of technological know-how. In any area of society, creativity is the offspring of individual liberty. Its mortal enemy is conformity. Since the welfare state, with its centralized power, produces conformity as its principal byproduct, our scientific and economic gaps will grow proportionately with the growth of the welfare state. Whatever gaps now exist can be closed by renewed confidence in, and a resultant return to, our traditional political and economic emphasis on individual liberty—the seed of creativity. The fundamentals of our capitalistic system are sound, and provide no basis for an inferiority complex, foreign and domestic faultfinders to the contrary notwithstanding. It is only when we deviate from these fundamentals toward some form of socialism, such as the welfare state, that the gaps begin to appear.

If we are to achieve victory in our international struggle with communism and our internal struggle against socialism, all Americans must come to appreciate two basic facts. First, capitalism is the only economic system which will work in a free society, having proved itself throughout our history. Second, welfare states are socialism in action, and a government in the United States big enough to fulfill the welfare-state promises of giving everyone everything he wants, must necessarily be a government big enough to take everything we've got—including our liberty.

Mr. THURMOND: Mr. President, I believe that every American has an obligation to inform himself of the nature and of the total threat of communism. Each American also has an obligation to help inform his neighbor concerning the total threat of communism, and particularly is this responsibility incumbent on those in positions of responsibility, who have taken an oath to defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign, and domestic. I, personally, take this responsibility seriously. I have continuously used every means at my disposal to help inform the

American people on all facets of the Communist menace. One of the principal means by which I have sought to disseminate such information is through the medium of my "Weekly Report to the People." I ask unanimous consent that the text of my "Weekly Report to the People" of February 6, April 17, May 1, June 12, July 3, and July 17, 1961, be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the statements were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STROM THURMOND REPORTS TO THE PEOPLE,  
FEBRUARY 6, 1961

#### EYES WIDE OPEN

There are strong indications in the wind that the new administration is preparing to go to the conference table with the Communists, perhaps at the summit level. Here are some of the signs: (1) President Kennedy's statement that Mr. Khrushchev's release of the two RB-47 flyers "removes a serious obstacle to improvement of Soviet-American relations"; (2) the White House censorship of Admiral Burke's January 27 speech in which he attempted to say once again that the Kremlin is not to be trusted; (3) CBS-TV's cancellation of its Soviet espionage TV story; (4) a Newsweek report that the 27-month-old U.S. moratorium on atomic tests will be continued, to Mr. K's liking; (5) summit trial balloons released by U.N. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, and (6) recent conciliatory statements by Messrs. Khrushchev and Castro, particularly Mr. K's expressions of hope that the new administration would exhibit the same friendly attitude toward the Soviet Union as that of FDR.

I have never felt that we should slam shut the door on possible negotiations with any power, even one as nefarious as the Soviet Union. We must seek methods to accomplish solution of world problems, but they must be realistic methods. We should open our eyes to cold hard facts before entering into any more Soviet beartraps.

Thus far our negotiations with the Communists have resulted in a series of black eyes for our side. The conferences at Téhéran, Yalta, Potsdam, etc. have made their indelible marks on the configuration of the world—unfortunately, to the great advantage of the Communists. During the past 25 years, the United States had 3,400 meetings with the Communists, executing 52 major agreements, 50 of the 52 having been abrogated by the Reds. Then there was Mr. K's summit fiasco of last year, which I warned against in a newsletter of May 16, 1960.

This is but a small part of the case against naively trying to negotiate agreements with the Reds, with the expectation that these agreements will be honored by them. We must realize that the Kremlin leaders are dedicated to materialism as against God, and also to a goal of world domination at any price. They must sincerely and completely repudiate their stated aims and goals to have peaceful coexistence or meaningful negotiations. In the past they have tried to give the appearance of a change in their goal of world communication, but later events have proved that they were only changes in tactics to insure attainment of their overall goal.

Of all the indications of better relations between the United States and the USSR, the most disturbing is the report that we may continue our self-imposed ban on nuclear testing. The Atomic Energy Commission last week pointed up the grave disadvantages of the test ban.

Former AEC Commissioner Thomas E. Murray has warned repeatedly that the Reds are taking advantage of our moratorium. He says they are speeding perfection of a third-generation nuclear weapon of truly fantastic

capabilities and of important small nuclear weapons for use in limited warfare. President Eisenhower put this ban into effect on the scientific advice that any type nuclear detonation, even underground tests, could be detected. Naturally enough, the Reds concurred in this advice, which proved to be incorrect. Still, however, the October 1958 ban was not lifted, even though Mr. K has repeatedly demonstrated his adamant position against the principle of international inspection and control of nuclear tests and all armaments.

Another disturbing point I have recently run across is a Gallup poll which says that 50 percent of the American public believes that we can negotiate away our differences with communism. If we are to win the future, the American people must learn from the lessons of the past. I have no argument with a hopeful attitude, so long as we hope with our eyes wide open.

STROM THURMOND REPORTS TO THE PEOPLE,  
APRIL 17, 1961

#### THE BEST DEFENSE IS A GOOD OFFENSE

The statement has been made that the Communists may succeed in their goal to dominate and communize the world and thereby stamp out capitalism and liberty because of one of many basic differences between the free and Communist worlds: the Communists know they are at war with us, but we aren't sure there is such a war. As true as this statement is, we in the free world still have it in our power to reverse the Communist movement, which since 1946 has seen China, Eastern Europe, Indonesia, Cuba, and half of Korea, Vietnam, and Laos gobbled up by the Communist conspiracy.

The first thing we must do is to realize not only that communism is the direct opposite of liberty, good, and God, but also that communism is at war with us psychologically, ideologically, economically, politically, diplomatically—on every imaginable front. Too many believe that we are only at war when bullets are flying. They ignore the carefully aimed and executed political, propaganda, and diplomatic bullets that have been sending the free world reeling and reacting to Communist bluff and bluster, deception and distraction, and propaganda and pressure tactics and techniques, particularly in the past 15 years.

In their bluff and bluster tactics, the Reds have pushed us as far as possible without provoking the devastation power of the United States, even in times when we had not only the monopoly on nuclear power but also the means of delivery. The only time they overshot their bounds was when they misjudged our withdrawal of troops from Korea in 1950 and Secretary of State Acheson's ill-timed statement that Korea was not within our defense periphery. Even then, the Soviets fought us to a standstill by proxy—that is, by using North Korean and Chinese troops. They bluffed us into going only so far in Korea for fear of an all-out war at a time when we had both the conventional and nuclear means to win that war.

In their tactics of deception and distraction, the Reds have succeeded in worming in and around agreements, legalisms, and our naivete. They have also kept world attention away from areas and matters which would expose the weakest positions and points of communism. For instance, they have distracted attention from their weakest area of control, Eastern Europe. The East Berlin, Poznan, and Hungarian uprisings proved that they can control there only by force and fear and that we can be bluffed away from aiding these captive peoples in regaining their freedom.

The score on agreements is "old hat." Of 52 major agreements since World War II, the Reds have honored only 2. Yet, we continue to negotiate at summit conferences

and naively ban our nuclear tests for 30 months while the Reds continue to make nuclear progress through sneak tests, refuse to agree to adequate inspection systems, and demand to reserve the right to a veto over the test-ban agreements—if we ever get any.

Propagandawise, the Communists have been beating our pants off in selling to the world their oppressive, godless, and materialistic system as against our free system which insures liberty, individualism, worship of God, and more material prosperity than the Communist world has ever known. They have kept the pressure on us by keeping the initiative. They have been able to do this because they have a master plan, whereas we merely try to put out the fires they set—yet, we, the people who set the stage for world independence, are charged effectively with being the imperialists and colonialists, while the Reds seize more of the world and continue to suppress their satellites.

We have the power and the salable system, but to reverse the current trend toward communism, we must wake up and take the initiative. When we seize the initiative toward extending liberty and justice throughout the world, then the Reds will have to dance to our tunes and their progress will be stopped.

STROM THURMOND REPORTS TO THE PEOPLE,  
MAY 1, 1961

#### THE LESSON OF CUBA

"Our security may be lost piece by piece, country by country, without the firing of a single missile or the crossing of a single border. . . . The message of Cuba, of Laos. . . are all the same. The complacent, the self-indulgent, the soft societies are to be swept away with the debris of history. . . . We intend to profit from this lesson."

Those well-chosen words were uttered by President Kennedy recently before a meeting of newspaper editors following the first bad news on the Cuban invasion. They tell a story that America must learn—in fact that America and her leaders should have learned long ago: the Communists intend to dominate the world and subvert freedom and capitalism everywhere to the tyranny of totalitarian rule by Communist bosses who would level everyone to the lowest common denominator. They intend to succeed—in fact, they are convinced that the Communist world revolution is inevitable—by use of any means available: deceit, lying, bluff, murder, stealing, subversion, et cetera.

In a recent newsletter, I pointed out that Americans must realize that communism is at war with us on many fronts and that our failure to recognize this fact could cause our defeat. I urged that we take the initiative instead of reeling and reacting to Communist aggressions and subversions. In taking the offensive, however, we must be prepared to win. We were not prepared in the Cuban invasion because we did not determine to make victorious the effort to oust Castro and communism, even if we had to bring about overtly his overthrow ourselves. We have certainly fooled no one that we did just about everything in the invasion except supply the needed strength to win.

With their self-assured attitude, the Reds will push us as far as possible to speed their inevitable triumph, but they want no part of our thermonuclear destructive power. Communist strategy calls for all-out war only if or when the Reds attain sufficient power to knock us out without being themselves kayoed in a thermonuclear exchange. They do not today possess that capability.

We have suffered a humiliating defeat in Cuba, and "what is past is prologue." If, however, the Cuban failure should serve to awaken America to the dire consequences of misjudging communism and if it serves to give us a determination to win in every

tussle with communism, then perhaps the loss will not be so great after all.

The Cuban debacle should also help us to realize that we cannot continue to seek a self-indulgent and soft existence through the route of welfare-statism in our country and expect to survive with our freedom intact. One of the greatest utterances President Kennedy has made since taking office was his inaugural plea to Americans to "Ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country."

Rather than following this sage advice, however, the Congress has passed one piece of welfare-state legislation after another, and most of it has been approved at the request of the administration. Little else has been done on Capitol Hill.

The President has made commendable moves to strengthen our defense forces, and he intends to reevaluate our space program and our policies in wrestling with communism. In this he will have the strong support of the Congress, just as the Congress will back him staunchly in any move he may make to let the Communists know that we will not tolerate communism or outside domination anywhere in the Western Hemisphere—that is, that we will enforce the Monroe Doctrine.

On the domestic front, I again urge that we get down to fundamentals and put first things first. If this means sacrifices or harder living in order to wage a successful war against communism in space, in deterrent power, in diplomacy, in propaganda, and in preserving freedom at home and abroad, there is little doubt what choice the American people would be willing to make.

STROM THURMOND REPORTS TO THE PEOPLE,  
JUNE 12, 1961

#### MORE AID—LESS LOYALTY?

The Senate will soon be embroiled in another fight over Federal aid to education, with many controversial issues to be settled. This fight will be over the bill to extend and expand the National Defense Education Act of 1958 and to remove from the act its requirements for participants to execute an oath in support of the Constitution and also a non-Communist affidavit.

The National Education Association and other Federal-aid advocates seized on public concern over Soviet Sputnik I to win passage of the National Defense Education Act. The act provides loans and grants to individuals and educational institutions and schools to promote study in subjects which aid advocates rationalized to be in any way connected with the national defense.

As with most other Government programs, this was alleged to be a temporary expedient. Now, however, aid advocates are striving to make many of the features of the act permanent. They are also trying to broaden the scope of the assistance by making it applicable to more areas and subjects which are completely unrelated to defense. In fact, some are advocating removal of all restrictions so any subject can be eligible for inclusion under the program.

In addition, generous aid to private and parochial schools is to be provided as a pay-off for those who refrained from opposing the general Federal aid to education bill because it did not provide aid for private and parochial schools.

All of this concerns me very much, but I am even more concerned about the effort being made to remove from the law the existing loyalty oath and non-Communist affidavit requirements. These requirements were written into the law in 1958 without any particular stir because of the justifiably increased concern since World War II over the Communist threat to our national security. Shortly after the war similar provisions were written into the National Science Foundation Act and the Taft-Hartley Act.

The Taft-Hartley provision was strengthened in 1959 by adding a criminal statute. In fact, all Government employees, civilian and military (including my staff), have executed such an oath and disclaimer.

Some educators and students have objected to the loyalty and affidavit provisions and a number of colleges have refused to participate in the program because the requirements are offensive to academic freedom.

In 1959 then-Senator Kennedy tried to repeal the requirements in the Senate, and he lost by a one-vote margin. He tried it again last year, and although the Senate took some modified action—which many believed to strengthen rather than weaken the requirements—the House refused to take action. This year the administration's bill extending the act contains a repealing provision.

The loyalty and affidavit requirements should not be offensive to anyone who has a whiff of patriotism about him, although I realize that the Communists have effectively sold the idea that patriotism is old-fashioned and have given that word an odious connotation.

Furthermore, the freedom of no one is destroyed by these requirements, for participation in the program is voluntary. Although the Act sails under the flag of defense, there is no "draft provision" and no compulsion to participate.

If one is patriotic enough to conscientiously and voluntarily participate in a defense program, he should have no qualms about pledging his support to the Constitution and signing a disclaimer as to Communist beliefs and membership in Communist organizations. The investment of tax funds in the education of those who are reluctant to execute such an oath and affidavit would be a highly "speculative" investment from a defense standpoint.

#### STROM THURMOND REPORTS TO THE PEOPLE JULY 3, 1961

##### THE LEAST WE CAN DO

During the week in which we celebrate Independence Day, we Americans should give more than a little thought to our national and individual liberties which were proclaimed for us 185 years ago in the immortal Declaration of Independence and later won on the battlefields of the American Revolution.

Today we have become so accustomed to liberty that we take liberty for granted, much as we do the convenience of electricity. We have the feeling that because liberty is guaranteed in this country by the Constitution that it will always be with us. Other peoples in other nations have had this same foolish idea, but their liberties have long since vanished because they did not appreciate Voltaire's old truism that "Eternal Vigilance is the Price of Liberty." We seem to have forgotten that liberty must be earned, and once it is earned—as it was for us by our forefathers—then it must be preserved, not just for our enjoyment, but as a legacy for unborn generations of Americans.

In fact, liberty is supposed to be the highest end of government. However, in viewing our Government bureaucracy today, with all its controls, redtape, and its ever-growing centralized power apparatus, it is easy to get the idea that perhaps government has some other end to serve—such as accumulation of power.

Man cannot have liberty unless he accepts the moral task it imposes. It is a combination of self-assertion and self-denial, of independence and responsibility. For instance, in granting us the blessing of self-government, our forefathers contemplated that the people would take sufficient interest in educating themselves on affairs of government to govern themselves intelligently and that they would be so concerned with the preser-

vation of liberty that they would reject selfish proposals which would restrict their liberties.

Some misguided intellectuals, whose principal aim for government is creation of a socialistic welfare state, would lead the people to believe that they can have liberty and socialism and that the welfare state will rid them of the onerous burden of trying to govern themselves. As a matter of fact, capitalism, which is no more and no less than economic liberty, is the only economic system which will work in a free society, and liberty can only be preserved when power is decentralized in the hands of the people and local government.

Our liberties are in danger today as never before, both from the threat of communist aggression and also from the threat of welfare statism, with its attendant big government and big spending policies.

Since coming to the Senate in 1955, my principal preoccupation has been the preservation of our liberties, not in just one particular area but all across the board. In doing so, I have been voting against much legislation in order to vote for preservation of liberty. I believe that preservation of liberty is the principal interest of the people, but, unfortunately, too many—as I mentioned above—are taking liberty for granted and are not looking its threats in the eye. Some, too, have been deluded by the Socialist fallacy that we can have welfare statism and liberty too—and, most unfortunately, there are some who do not fear Communist aggressive aims because they are not basically opposed to the principles of socialism and communism.

Because we still live in a relatively free society, although our liberties are being constricted with every increase in Government growth and every new welfare program, we, the people, still have the power of choice. We can insure our liberty "for ourselves and our posterity" or we can make the choice to release it all at once or a little at a time.

Our forefathers at Lexington, Concord, and King's Mountain fought and died to obtain liberty for us. The Founding Fathers exercised the utmost in human wisdom to secure it for us in the Constitution and its Bill of Rights. The least we can do is preserve what is left of that precious legacy which had its beginnings on July 4, 1776.

#### STROM THURMOND REPORTS TO THE PEOPLE, JULY 17, 1961

##### DO WE DESERVE TO WIN?

The United States is preparing to make another important concession to the Communists—diplomatic recognition of and United Nations membership for the so-called Republic of Outer Mongolia. This proposed action is merely a prelude for admission of Communist China to the UN and when consummated will mark another in a series of Communist victories over a vacillating United States of America.

Outer Mongolia is a landlocked country about the size of Alaska and is located between Communist China and Soviet Russia. Because of its location and its socialist police-state government, Outer Mongolia has very close ties with Red China and Russia. In fact, it is Russia's oldest satellite and furnished 5,000 troops against us in Korea.

The argument being used by Under Secretary of State Chester Bowles and other administration advisers, who apparently see no beartraps in Kremlin aims and strategies, is that our Government will win a valuable listening post by placing a diplomatic mission in Outer Mongolia. Bowles' contention evidently doesn't worry the Soviets, who continue avidly to sponsor Outer Mongolia in the UN. Visits to areas near Russia and China have convinced me that we already have many good listening posts and that we listen well.

Our weakness lies not in the collection of intelligence data but the application of this data. The best intelligence is no good if many of our policymakers in the State Department and the White House don't have a basic understanding of the enemy—his aims, methods and devious nature. Too many of them seem to have no strong quarrel with the basic tenets of socialism and communism—that is, sharing the wealth through State ownership or control of property and the economy. They also seem to continue to ignore the lessons of history on policies of appeasing or trusting the enemy, particularly our record in dealing with world communism.

Anyone familiar with communism—and on this score my mail and contacts reflect that the American people are ahead of this administration and the past one, except for John Foster Dulles—realizes that only a firm and resolute policy will save the world from either thermonuclear holocaust or bit-by-bit surrender to the Communist conspiracy.

Our Government has put forth a few strong words on Berlin, but we haven't shown Mr. Khrushchev we really mean to fight, if necessary, to preserve our rights in Berlin. We are still reeling and reacting to Mr. Khrushchev's moves, such as his recent pronouncements about restoring proposed defense cuts—which were never seriously intended—and his demonstrations of new air power. Why didn't we take the initiative on such a move? Because they have a plan and we don't. We are still procrastinating over whether to negotiate or to demonstrate we still have the will to win.

Berlin is truly a "bone in Mr. Khrushchev's throat," but it is rightfully there—just as we are rightfully there in Berlin. This city is a capitalist oasis in a Communist desert. If we show any inclination to abandon any of our rights there, then NATO will be shattered to bits, Western Europe will be in grave danger, and our allies around the world will rightfully lose what respect they still may have for a once mighty protector and bulwark of liberty.

We proved our mettle and called Communist bluffs with our courageous brinkmanship actions in Greece, Turkey, Iran, Berlin (1948), Formosa, and Lebanon. What we vitally need today is a firm, resolute determination by our leaders to fight, if necessary, to preserve liberty and insure our survival as a nation, and this attitude must be communicated without equivocation to the Communists.

If we don't dare to win, then we don't deserve to win in the protracted conflict with communism.

Mr. THURMOND: Mr. President, it is impossible to determine by what standards the Department of Defense now judges the anti-Communist indoctrination material, the use of which is to be permitted military leaders. It is obvious that the campaign to discredit the military personnel has had and is having an impact on the informational programs participated in by our military personnel. At least one concrete example is available which proves that the anti-Communist informational program for the armed services is seriously weakened. Some time ago the Defense Department made a decision that the film entitled "Operation Abolition" should no longer be used for showing to military personnel. This film is a documentary of the Communist-inspired demonstrations against the House Un-American Activities Committee in San Francisco in 1960, which, incidentally, I witnessed in person. This film is an excellent object lesson in one of the many



facets of Communist tactics, and is significantly effective in demonstrating the menace of communism and the ruses by which the Communists seek to accomplish their goals.

The film "Operation Abolition," according to the Defense Department, is controversial. It is controversial only because the Communists and those naive enough to swallow the Communist propaganda have raised a hue and cry about this film. The Communist-led attack on the film is convincing testimony to its effectiveness in exposing Communist tactics. Fortunately, millions of Americans in the Armed Forces and in civilian life have seen this film. I sincerely hope that all other Americans will make it their business to view it at their first opportunity. By this means the American people can decide for themselves whether "Operation Abolition" is too controversial for showing to our men in uniform, as is claimed by the Department of Defense. It is significant that the Department of Defense has not once elaborated on the reason for not using the film and has not itemized or specified a single inaccuracy or misstatement of fact in the film.

Mr. President, the Department of Defense has also declined to use another very effective film on communism entitled "Communist Encirclements—1961." Unfortunately, not nearly so many have had the opportunity to view this film, as is the case with "Operation Abolition." "Communist Encirclements—1961" is a factual, nonpartisan presentation of the Communist threat and the many facets of the aggressive and insidious nature of communism. Again the people of the country should have the opportunity to judge for themselves whether this film, "Communist Encirclements—1961," is of a quality that should be shown to members of our Armed Forces. I have obtained a script of this film, and I ask unanimous consent that the text of this script be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the script was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### COMMUNIST ENCIRCLEMENT, 1961

Do you recognize this scene? It is the climax to the Communist takeover of Cuba, 90 miles from the Florida coast. This is a news photo of the Communist-led riots in Japan, in Morocco, in Venezuela, in Algiers. Communist-led riots trample and burn the U.S. flag in Uruguay. In Africa, Communists agitate and infiltrate and expand their power in nation after nation as they control the rising tide of nationalism. Yes, communism is on the march, advancing across the map of the world. The great prize, their chief target, the ultimate goal of international communism, is the United States of America.

Are you genuinely concerned because of this Red shadow? Should we be worried? Is our Nation really in danger by an evil alien force? The answer is "Yes." Here is the feature article of a recent issue of the Reader's Digest, one of the most widely and highly respected publications in America. The title is "Is It Too Late To Win Against Communism?" This great magazine acknowledges that we are locked in a war for survival and wonders whether we can win. Here is another more recent Reader's Digest feature article by Gen. Carlos Romulo, Pulitzer prizewinning journalist, soldier, and

statesman, Ambassador from the Philippines, past President of the United Nations General Assembly. He sounds a dramatic warning—"America, wake up." The editors of the Reader's Digest note: "A wise and loyal friend of the United States warns us the cold war is real war. It is far later than we know. The Communists can win without changing their tactics. We cannot win without changing ours. We must assume the offensive. We dare not stand still."

Yes, the time has come in the life of our country demanding the fullest citizenship service of every man and woman. The very first citizenship requirement is an understanding of the true nature of world communism and of its swiftly expanding reach into every corner of the earth. To see the true situation, we must recall many bits of 20th century history and assemble them on the map of the world. We have all read in our daily newspapers from time to time about a tidbit advance of communism—a Communist-controlled government taking over in some little country we've scarcely heard of. A free world ambassador forced to leave such and such a nation as the Reds came to power. Riots and revolts here and there around the world. How far has the Soviet network reached? Can you visualize its arms reaching out from Moscow? To understand fully the peril in which our Nation finds itself today, we must go back in history.

The 20th century father of communism was Vladimir Ilich Ulyanov. History knows him better by one of his many aliases—Nikolai Lenin. In 1900 he began to travel, write, and conduct the work of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party, a forerunner of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He had a small group of dedicated followers determined to destroy mankind's spiritual motivation and to build an utterly new, materialistic world ruled by a godless dictatorship. By 1917 they had gained sufficient strength to make a bold move for power. They infiltrated the Socialist government, which had a few months earlier gained power from Czar Nicholas II. They had recruited about 40,000 disgruntled Russians and trained them in Communist revolutionary tactics. At a signal from Lenin, they seized control of the Socialist government. Members of the old regime and their families were brutally murdered. At first Lenin and his henchmen held only the capital. Then gradually they advanced their control across a portion of Russia. By 1922 they extended their power through the use of terror and infiltration sufficiently to establish the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the U.S.S.R. Lenin died in 1924. Before he died, he laid down for his followers the plan for world conquest. Paraphrased and summarized, it declared: "First we will take eastern Europe, next the masses of Asia. Then we shall encircle that last bastion of capitalism, the United States of America. We shall not have to attack. It will fall like an overripe fruit into our hands."

No matter who has been the boss in the Kremlin at any time since 1924, the Communists have always kept their eyes unwaveringly on this plan and on the strategy to carry it out. This is their blueprint today. After a strategy meeting at Moscow of Communist leaders from throughout the world, the Reds issued a 1961 Communist manifesto. Let's read the warning by William L. Ryan, the AP foreign editor:

"The manifesto repeats a line which can be regarded by the West in the same light that Hitler's Mein Kampf should have been viewed before World War II."

The Communists have a blueprint for conquest. They have gone a long way toward its accomplishment. They have let nothing stand in their way and nothing divert them. They have used bribery, lies,

bluff, brutality, the most extensive and most successful espionage network in world history, mass murder on a scale never before dreamed of, and every other possible means to advance them along the road to world conquest, following the blueprint laid down by Lenin. The Communist strategists have used great patience. Their technique of bit-by-bit advance has been an important key to their success. Among their greatest assets has been the lack of understanding of the true nature of international communism by the people and the leaders of the United States.

The first big break for the Communist conspiracy came in 1933, when the United States formally recognized the Stalin regime. The prestige of this recognition was priceless. It enabled the Soviet dictatorship to establish monetary credit and to establish embassies in America and elsewhere as bases of vital espionage operations. This recognition came at a time when Khrushchev was directing the deliberate starvation, the mass murdering of millions of Ukrainians who were resisting Communist control over their lives. This is a photograph of the victims of the mass Communist execution by starvation. Congressional committees have the documented facts on this inhuman brutality. Nicholas Prychodko, Ukrainian newspaper editor who escaped and now lives in America, was asked by a congressional committee what caused the death of these people. He replied, "starvation." "Who caused the starvation?" Mr. Prychodko said, "The starvation was due to the Communist police and the brigades under orders from Moscow. They were under the direction of Khrushchev."

Another stroke of good fortune for the ambitious Communist empire was World War II. Stalin made his notorious deal with Adolph Hitler in August of 1939, and the German Panzer divisions rolled into Poland a few days later in September 1939. In just 4 weeks Russia and Germany were cutting up Poland, dividing up the spoils. The Reds made their next move against tiny Finland. The Finns fought courageously, but Moscow got a toehold in the little Baltic Nation.

Soon thereafter the Reds were infiltrating Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. In a short time they had sufficient power to take over the three little nations from within. The Baltic people resisted, not in an organized way, but individually. Hundreds of thousands of freedom-loving people were seized, thrown into cattle cars and sent off to Siberian labor camps. The Soviet timetable for conquest was interrupted when Germany turned on the Kremlin and invaded Russia. The vast numbers of Russian fighting men, with American lend-lease aid, proved a formidable obstacle as Germany drove deep into Russia, and with our own great bombing raids and ground strength broke the back of the Germans. But with the fateful decision of our Government leaders to halt General Patton and other onrushing U.S. forces from going through Eastern Germany and on into Czechoslovakia, the Balkans, the stage was set for Stalin's execution of the first phase of Lenin's master plan, the takeover of Eastern Europe. At the conclusion of the European war, the Soviets returned to their strategy of world conquest through infiltration. In Czechoslovakia the pattern was revealed for the whole world to see, but the world's eyes were blinded. The lesson of Czechoslovakia didn't penetrate the Western mind. All the Communist asked of President Benes in Czechoslovakia was the establishment of a socialist economic system, and the placement of a few Communists as Cabinet officials in a coalition government. One of the Cabinet posts, occupied by a Communist was the Department

of Interior, which controlled the police force. At a signal from Moscow the Communists in the government merely asserted full power. Benes and Jan Masaryk, like countless other Czechs who resisted, were quietly put to death or they committed suicide. An Associated Press foreign affairs editor wrote this memorable dispatch:

"Jan Masaryk thought he could do business with Communists. His suicide is a monument to his recognition and a warning to the world that no such course is possible."

The year was 1948. The warning carries an even greater import today. Czechoslovakia did business with Communists. Czechoslovakia's freedom was destroyed. It was that way with them all—first, infiltration, then coalition government, then the takeover. One by one the nations of Europe fell, from the Baltic to the Mediterranean—Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, East Prussia, and half of Poland had already been seized. Now came the rest of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania. The United States and Great Britain stood by, virtually silent and inactive, as the Communists reached out across Eastern Europe smothering freedom and bolstering their international strength.

Our distinguished Ambassador to Poland, Arthur Bliss Lane, resigned his post and put on record in his book, "I Saw Poland Betrayed," what he had witnessed of Communist ruthlessness and the unaccountable behavior of American and British diplomatic leadership. In his book Ambassador Lane wrote "our policy of appeasement toward Soviet Russia undoubtedly emboldened Stalin to go ahead with his plans for the complete domination of Poland, as of all other countries in Eastern Europe. This completed the first phase of Lenin's master plan, so the Soviet masters could now turn their main attention to the masses of Asia, next target on the Lenin blueprint. But they did not neglect Western Europe. They sent thousands of agents into Western European nations to penetrate political parties, governments, the press, the universities, the labor unions, all phases of life. These Moscow agents working in Europe recruited millions of comrades and their most vital work has been in politics and particularly within the socialist parties of Europe and Scandinavia. Nearly every Scandinavian and European nation, with the exception of Switzerland and West Germany, has a high degree of socialism in its government and economic system. Labor Socialist parties either dominate the governments or wield powerful influence over all governmental decisions.

In these socialistic nations almost without exception the political trend is toward more socialism, and the Socialist Parties in most cases expect before long to have full control. In all the socialistic nations powerful Communist forces are being organized to strike when the time seems expedient to Moscow. This is true even in West Germany. It is important, therefore, that we understand the relationship of socialism to communism.

Karl Marx, the founder of communism, was a lifelong Socialist. The letters, USSR, mean Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Khrushchev speaks of communism and socialism as very closely related. John Strachey, top official of the Labor Socialist Party of Great Britain in 1950, was for many years an openly avowed Communist. Then he became a Cabinet official in Britain's Socialist government. He wrote a book entitled "The Theory and Practice of Socialism." In the book he says, "It is impossible to establish communism as the immediate successor to capitalism." It is accordingly proposed to establish socialism as something which we can put in the place of our present decaying capitalism. Hence, Communists work for the establishment of socialism as

a necessary transition stage on the road to communism.

Further dramatizing the affinity of socialism and communism is this 100th anniversary copy of the Communist manifesto, published not by Moscow Communists, but by the Labor Socialist Party of Great Britain. The flyleaf says, Communist manifesto, Socialist Landmark, a new appreciation written for the Labor Party. Yes, although few Americans have taken the time to examine the fact, socialism and communism are political and ideological bedfellows. Wherever communism cannot take over by fomenting internal revolt, the Reds seek to establish so-called Democratic Socialist Governments, which they can infiltrate until the Communist Party can take over. They are working at this in every socialist nation in the world.

John McGovern, member of the British Parliament, recently withdrew from the Labor Socialist Party. He hadn't really been a Labor Socialist, he announced, even a secret Communist and an atheist. He turned against communism and joined the worldwide movement called Moral Re-Armament. Here is what he reported to the people of the United Kingdom in an Associated Press dispatch:

"Approximately 100 members of the Labor Socialist Party are secretly Communists or fellow travelers doing the work for international communism.

So we see how socialist parties are being used. The undercover Communists wield great power in the politics of Great Britain. Here is an indication of that power. This is a news dispatch published in the US News & World Report. Let's read some of it. Dateline, London. "A year of maneuver by the Communists has now settled Britain's opposition Labor Party with a policy that could wreck Europe's defenses and drive American military forces back to the United States. What is clear now is the Communists' role in the whole affair. By throwing their weight and organizational talents into an essentially emotional ban-the-bomb movement, the Communists played a key part in committing the Labor Party to a neutralist life. The Communists have already achieved a major victory."

England and the Western European nations are on the record our allies, and we should respect them and try to generate faith in the good intentions of their people and their governments. However, the documented facts suggest that we should look with penetrating eyes and minds at the Socialist activities—in Europe, in Scandinavia, and around the world. We should carefully examine the truer complexion of the Socialist political parties. We should look closely at the so-called neutralist nations, who seem so often to be neutral and against the best interest of our United States, neutral and on the side of the Communists. After the consolidation of their gains in eastern Europe and their deceptive penetration of western Europe, the Soviets moved for the takeover of China—the masses of Asia set forth as the second step in Lenin's blueprint for world conquest. They already established a powerful Communist apparatus in China, headed by Moscow-trained agents, and the concessions gained by Stalin at the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences, in the absence of China's leader, Chiang Kai-shek, open the door to their strategic plan. Communist Chinese armies in north China engaged the Nationalist armies under Chiang. The actual takeover of China was preceded by a worldwide Communist propaganda campaign creating hate for Chiang Kai-shek, who was resisting the Communist takeover and picturing Mao Tse-tung as a great agrarian reformer.

Some of America's leading journalists in respected publications, as well as radio reporters and commentators, aided in the dis-

semination of this propaganda. In this article the well known writer, later to be identified as a Communist, described Chiang Kai-shek as a Fascist leader, and hailed the Communists led by Mao Tse-tung as agrarian reformers. Agitation became widespread for a truce in China and for a coalition government, also for a stoppage of US military aid to Nationalist China.

In January 1946, President Truman sent Chief of Staff, Gen. George Marshall to China with instructions to urge Chiang Kai-shek to take the Communists into a coalition government, as President Benes had so fatally done in Czechoslovakia. Chiang steadfastly refused. General Marshall effected a temporary truce, which in the end added the Communists. Just a few months later in July, in 1946, General Marshall halted the sale of arms and ammunition to Nationalist China. This was backed up with Executive order by President Truman on August 18, 1946, a fateful action in American history.

The Chinese Communists were being liberally supplied by Russia, and after the arms embargo went into effect on the forces of free China, the Chinese Reds moved into military action again. Some important voices in Congress questioned this tragic turn of events in China. And in the summer of 1947, Secretary of State Marshall and President Truman sent Gen. Albert C. Weydemeyer to China for the announced purpose of making a study and submitting a report on whether the United States should rescind this embargo and give aid to Chiang's military forces, fighting a now desperate struggle with the heavily armed Communists. Weydemeyer's report was withheld from the public and from Congress. It was suppressed by Presidential order. And yet the American people were later to learn that General Weydemeyer recommended aiding China. He said that with aid the Nationalist forces could save China from falling into the grasp of international communism. This book was finally published in 1958, long after China fell to the Communists.

The masses of Asia had begun to be conquered by world communism, as Lenin's master plan decreed. Here are the findings of a subsequent investigation by the US Senate. The Judiciary Committee in the report it has just issued finds a conspiracy, Communist-inspired, that led to American defeat. High American officials were duped. Policies were influenced that gave the Communists their greatest victory. This paragraph says that the loss of China after the defeat of Japan represents the greatest defeat in US history. Few Americans read this shocking report, but some political personages were aroused, and they spoke out. John F. Kennedy, at the time a Congressman from Massachusetts, stated:

"Over these past few days we have learned the extent of the disasters befalling China and the United States. Our policy in China has reaped the whirlwind. The continued insistence that aid would not be forthcoming unless a coalition government with the Communists was formed was a crippling blow to the Nationalist Government. This is the tragic story of China, whose freedom we once fought to preserve. What our young men had saved, our diplomats and our President had frittered away."

This statement was reported in the February 21, 1949, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. President Kennedy must not forget this speech. In the decade just past, the Chinese Communists have strengthened their holds by executing their opposition. People owning 2 or 3 acres of land who resisted Communist collectivization and the break-up of their families. The dead, more than 20 million. The Russians call it liquidation. The Chinese call it shiao mieh, which means deprived of existence.

To grasp the meaning of this, we must transpose it closer to home. These execu-

tions would wipe out the entire population of these 13 States

One by one the smaller nations of south-east Asia have either fallen into the Communists' hands, or have been very deeply penetrated by the fifth column Tibet, where the Reds have murdered thousands and established a bloody reign of terror, gives horrible evidence of the fate awaiting the remaining masses of Asia. The China takeover paved the way for the Red moves in Korea. From Manchuria into North Korea was just a short hop. The Communists infiltrated and quickly took over the Government of North Korea. Then equipped with more materiel from Russia and Communist China, the Reds moved down upon Syngman Rhee's little half nation of South Korea.

By almost any military or diplomatic measuring stick, the United States lost the Korean war. The American commanders who served in Korea during the actual fighting returned home crushed and bitter, and deeply disturbed. After American soldiers, under the command of MacArthur, had defeated the Russian-trained and Russian-armed North Koreans, and after the Communist Chinese at Moscow's bidding had thrown their might in against us, the U.S. armies were prevented from bombing the Reds' bases of supplies and troop concentrations across the Yalu River in North Korea. Our own Government forbade our military leaders the freedom of action necessary for protection against the onslaught of the Chinese Reds. The reason given was that it might provoke Russia to attack. Thousands of American casualties were sustained because the U.S. Government created this fantastic sanctuary for the enemy. Here is the testimony given under oath to congressional committees by our commanding generals in Korea.

Mark Clark: I was not allowed to bomb the numerous bridges that were across the Yalu River and over which the enemy constantly poured his trucks and his munitions and his killers.

Van Fleet: My own conviction is that there must have been information to the enemy from high diplomatic authorities that we would not attack his home bases across the Yalu.

Stratemeyer: You get in war to win it. We do not get in war to stand still and lose it, and we were required to lose it. We were not permitted to win.

MacArthur: Such a limitation upon the utilization of available military force to repel an enemy attack has no precedent either in our own history, or so far as I know in the history of the world. Instead of victory the United States accepted a stalemate in Korea.

It was one of the most costly wars in our history in terms of lives of American soldiers. Fifty-four thousand two hundred and forty-six Americans sacrificed their lives. There were 103,284 additional casualties. Becoming even bolder in their seizure of power, the Communists have moved across Asia into the Middle East, where they have established important beachheads and on to Africa. Here they are fomenting nationalistic revolts, gaining control of rebel forces, placing their agents in coalition governments. Where they cannot take over in one uprising, they guide natives into establishing socialistic governments, which they can penetrate and alternately control. A technique of their strategy has been the agitation and control of students and faculties of the colleges and universities of nation after nation—South Korea, Turkey, Japan, in Latin American countries, all over the world.

With their control over Eastern Europe, with much of Asia held in Communist en-

slavement or tottering for a fall, and with strategic strongholds in Africa, the Soviet masters have now turned their attention to the final phase of Lenin's three-phase blueprint for conquest—the encirclement of the United States. Obviously, to achieve this third step would require only the establishment of bases in Latin America. They have moved into action here in our Western Hemisphere, as many Americans are beginning to realize. The Reds are today instigating student riots and governmental penetration in every Latin American nation. Much of their strength and most of the revolutionary activity in Latin America now originates in Cuba. So let's take a good long look at how Cuba became a powerful bastion for world communism.

In the winter of 1957, this man was in hiding in the mountains of Oriente Province in northeastern Cuba. Fidel Castro, a revolutionary, had been identified throughout most of his adult life with Communist activities. He had taken part in the bloody Communist-inspired Bogotá riots in 1948 and was identified by the Colombian police as one of the most vicious leaders of the riot that took more than 300 lives. His Communist activities were a matter of public record. In the Cuban mountains in 1957, he was surrounded by a bedraggled group of revolutionary comrades, with Communists in key positions of leadership. He had recruited his rank and file and taken them into Mexico—there to be trained by Alberto Bayo, internationally known Communist tactician. Until he began to gain recognition and prestige in America, through a press buildup, Fidel Castro commanded no real military force. He did not pose a genuine threat to the anti-Communist Cuban Government. Then the buildup began. It was similar to the one given Mao Tse-tung in China.

The major U.S. television networks sent camera crews into the Cuban mountains to bring back so-called documentary reports, which, whatever their intended purpose, stirred up American sympathy for the bearded revolutionary. The nationwide telecast pictured Castro as a romantic rebel, the Robin Hood leading a fight for social justice. They went out of their way to dispel the idea that Castro's movement had a Communist complexion. Some of America's biggest newspapers joined in the buildup. Castro began to emerge as a sort of George Washington of Cuba.

This New York Times writer, Herbert Matthews, described him as the most remarkable and romantic figure to arise in Cuba since José Martí, hero of Cuba's wars of independence. Ed Sullivan, in a brief but spectacular journalistic trip to Cuba, lent his powerful prestige to Castro. On film before his 30 million American television viewers, Sullivan said to Castro, "the people of the United States have great admiration for you and your men because you are in the real American tradition of George Washington." A year and a half later, too late to be of any benefit as sound journalism, Sullivan retracted this statement.

Qualified students of international communism were warning that Castro was himself a Communist, or at the very least, a life-long willing tool of world communism, and that many of his lieutenants surrounding him were known to be agents of international communism. Yet here the most widely circulated Catholic paper says, "Despite what you may have read the Cuban rebels are not Communists. There is absolutely no doubt about Fidel Castro. There is no Communist indoctrination in the rebel forces, not even the slightest degree of Communist propaganda."

The Christian Century is probably the most widely distributed Protestant publication in

America. In this article, "Wild Ducks From Cuba," this influential church paper comes to the aid of Castro. It pictures him as a political liberal, an agrarian reformer rather than a Socialist or Communist agent.

The atmosphere in America became a pro-Castro atmosphere. The bearded Fidel began to get arms and to recruit a larger following. Soon he moved out with his considerable force across Cuba, presenting now a genuine threat to the Batista forces. Leftwingers and even voices in the U.S. Congress demanded that the United States withdraw all the aid to the anti-Communist Batista government, as it happened to the anti-Communist Chiang Kai-shek preceding the fall of China to the Reds. At a crucial time in the Cuban conflict, our Government ordered an embargo. Castro's agents working openly in Florida were able to obtain great volumes of fighting equipment.

On January 1, 1959, the Cuban anti-Communist government fell. Castro took over. Two U.S. Ambassadors to Cuba declared in sworn testimony that they warned the U.S. Department of State aiding Castro would bring about a great victory for international communism and a strategic defeat for the United States. Both men say their warnings were smothered in the State Department and in Government circles under President Eisenhower. Since the fall of Cuba to the Reds, we have seen the Communists demonstrate their power in Mexico, El Salvador, Ecuador, Guatemala, Venezuela, and other Latin American countries. This stronghold overflowing with armaments for the entire revolutionary conspiracy for Latin America is Cuba.

With the takeover of Cuba, Lenin's heirs to the dictatorship of world communism thus had carried out at least partially the third phase of the Reds' blueprint for world conquest—the encirclement of the United States.

Will the United States fall? What is the situation within our Nation? This is San Francisco, U.S.A., and these are American university students rioting against the House Committee on Un-American Activities. This is an official committee of our elected Representatives in Congress. It has operated for 20 years as one of the Nation's bulwarks, safeguarding our internal security against penetration by Communist agents. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI, is one of the most highly respected Americans in the history of our Republic. Mr. Hoover was so concerned with what happened in San Francisco that he issued this special report over his signature. In this report, Mr. Hoover carefully documented the fact that the Communist Party, U.S.A., has as one of its chief objectives the destruction of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Communists cannot themselves succeed in this target goal, thus they must deceive and agitate and use dupes. Mr. Hoover shows how known Communist agents infiltrated campuses in the San Francisco area, promoting and inciting more than a thousand students to riot against the House committee just as the Reds have been controlling and using university students to accomplish their objectives in nations throughout the world.

FBI Director Hoover revealed that Gu Hall, national leader of the Communists in the United States, sent congratulations to the west coast comrades for the initiative and leadership they displayed at all stages of the riotous demonstrations.

In his report Mr. Hoover issues a sober warning to the people of America. He says "Looking at the riots and chaos Communists have created in other countries, many Americans point to the strength of our Nation and say, it can't happen here. But Com-



munist success in San Francisco, in May 1960, proves that it can happen here. Yes, it has happened here. The Communists we now know hold great power in proportion to their numbers here. They constitute a clear and present danger to our security, our lives.

Many Americans have forgotten the penetration of our Government by the Communists which were exposed by the FBI and the House Committee on Un-American Activities a decade ago. Alger Hiss, who had the confidence of an American President, had access to vital secrets. Harry Dexter White, keyman in the US Treasury, Judith Coplan, working amazingly enough in the US Justice Department itself.

But what about the decade of the 1960's? What about now? Not long after the San Francisco student riots, two employees of the National Security Administration disappeared, Vernon Mitchell and William Martin. They turned up in Mexico, then Cuba, then Moscow. At first the public was told these two men didn't have any important secrets. But soon the truth was exposed. They carried with them information of vital worth to the international Communist conspiracy. The FBI has exposed the enemy at work in all areas of our national life, and congressional committees have documented the fact that Communists have penetrated a number of strategic labor unions and communications networks.

Here is the transcript as Mr. Richard A. Aens of the House Un-American Activities Committee asked Secretary of the Army Brucker this question: "Are you conversant with the fact that the North Atlantic cable which carries very important messages vital to the security of our Nation is now serviced by the American Communications Association, a Communist-controlled labor organization." Secretary Brucker replied, "I am aware of that."

Congress hasn't acted. Communists are active in some areas of our educational establishment and in some church organizations, in our industries, our Government, our legislative halls, our armed services. They are dedicated, skilled, secretly working for the overthrow of our Nation and the triumph of world communism.

Early in 1961 Khrushchev told the Communist leaders from throughout the world as they gathered in Moscow for instructions in vital strategy that all military war would not be necessary. "The victory of world communism is no longer far off," he said.

Will this fantastic prediction come true? We are a Nation of 180 million people, the vast majority of whom are almost totally uninformed or apathetic toward the true nature of our gravest problems. We have become a nation in which the responsibilities of citizenship are being ignored. We are encircled, the enemy is in our midst. As a nation we have been backing away from the advances of international communism, accepting coexistence, summit conferences, coalition governments, negotiations and disarmament conferences, but the Communists continue advancing. Yes, the free world is losing. The Communists are winning. But we can change this course of events. We can sidetrack and ultimately wreck the Communist master plan for conquest if our people and our leaders have the courage and the will, if we are worthy of freedom.

"Our greatest obstacle has been that so many Americans haven't known we were at war because the war has been an insidious one, a protracted war with the enemy advancing just a little here and a little there. To halt the massive march of communism, millions of Americans must be awakened to the facts presented in this film. We must awaken a new pride and patriotism. Pride in our Nation's past and in its great destiny ahead. Love of country is one of mankind's

highest virtues. We must recreate an effective legal safeguard enabling our Government to stamp out the Communist fifth column which has penetrated the vitals of our Nation. We must stiffen our citizens' and our Nation's diplomatic attitude toward the whole Communist international conspiracy and the brutal despots who are leading it. We must arouse our friends and neighbors to a better understanding of the dangers inherent in the further centralization of our Government. We must look with clear eyes at the true fact of our moral weakening, and in our homes, our schools, our churches build the caliber of moral leadership that a free people must achieve to remain free. It is too late for continued apathy. The time has come for sacrifices in the cause of freedom by informed and determined citizens. In this great moment in human history will you enlist and pledge a part of mental, physical, material, and spiritual resources in this fight? This is the decisive question. On the manner in which Americans respond to this challenge rests the future hope of all free-men.

Mr. THURMOND: Mr. President, when queried about their reasons for not using "Operation Abolition" and Communist Encirclement—1961" in their educational programs on communism for members of the Armed Forces, the Department of Defense, after stating that the aforementioned were controversial, hastens to add that they have prepared a film to be used in their informational courses to the troops. The name of this film is "Challenge of Ideas." I viewed this film yesterday. Mr. President, I can assure Senators that there is nothing controversial about the film "Challenge of Ideas." The most descriptive words which I can think of to describe this film are "namby-pamby." The narration by Mr. Edward R. Murrow, now Director of the US Information Agency, will certainly offend no one—except those of us who know and recognize the "gutless" nature of the presentation in this non-controversial film. It is a superficial treatment of a serious issue and will contribute little to remedying the deficiency of knowledge concerning the total nature and threat of communism.

Mr. President, the time has come for all Americans, in uniform and out, to understand that we are in a life-and-death struggle with communism. Our system and communism are completely incompatible, and ultimately one or the other must go, for they cannot coexist on this planet indefinitely.

Last night the President of the United States addressed all Americans on television and described our need for increased military power and strength. Such funds as are necessary to provide not only a minimum of military power, but also military power with an adequate margin of safety, should be authorized and appropriated by Congress, for we cannot survive the protracted conflict with communism without adequate military power.

Great military strength is essential to our defense against communism, but military power alone cannot insure our success. That military power must be accompanied by the will to win on the part of every American—and the determination to use this power, if necessary.

Such a will to win can never exist, except it be based on the firm foundation of a knowledge and understanding of the principles on which our own country is founded and on the knowledge and understanding of the total nature of communism and the myriad of tactics by which it seeks to enslave the world.

Our military leaders have obviously been attempting to lay the foundation in knowledge and understanding of communism which can support and foster a will to win. In so doing, they are carrying out their oath to defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic. In the process of doing this, they are rendering an invaluable service to the American people.

The infamous attacks on our military leaders and the attempts to discredit them and to intimidate them to the extent that they will neglect their responsibility to inform the American public and personnel under their command constitute a threat to our very existence. These attacks, insofar as they are made by the Communists themselves, are but one more facet of Communist tactics which Americans must learn to recognize and combat for what they are. These attacks, insofar as they are made and assisted by non-Communists, however naive, are a disgrace and disservice to our Republic and its people.

Fortunately, in our country sovereign power rests in the hands of the public—the individual citizens. Theirs are and should be the final decisions. Their decisions can be right only when they have the facts on which to base their decisions. Their right to the facts is just as implicit and essential as their right to make the final decisions. The American people must not be limited to half-truths, and evasions, for they breed apathy and defeat. It is my sincere hope that the American public will, therefore, demand the facts from whatever source they can obtain them, including our military leaders, and reject this insidious attempt to discredit and intimidate the military in order that the American system and our Constitution—and, indeed, our liberty itself—shall survive the Communist onslaught.

#### THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

Mr. KEATING: Mr. President, the address which President Kennedy delivered last night to the Nation was an eloquent statement of the overall meaning of the Berlin crisis and the response which the United States must make to it. Rightly, he stressed that West Berlin is not the real problem but only a pretext. The Soviets are probing, testing us out to see where we are weak or eager to make concessions. I think the President's address, both in its tone and in its specifics, should make clear beyond the shadow of a doubt that we are committed, that we intend to stand firm on Berlin. In coordination with our Atlantic allies we are prepared to offset every Soviet move, even to the extent of meeting force with force. The military measures requested by the President will certainly strengthen

en our capacity to meet the threat and for that reason should and probably will move quickly through the Congress.

It must be admitted, of course, that the President's speech left a lot of questions unanswered, questions that must be carefully studied and discussed not only in the secret councils of the White House and Pentagon but throughout the country.

The first of these questions to my mind is what do we intend to do about East Germany. After all, the cause of the present crisis is specifically the Russian threat to sign a separate peace treaty with East Germany and presumably in the process to turn their obligation to allow free transit to West Berlin over to the East German Government. What will we do if that takes place? It is going to be the first and most immediate step of the actual crisis, and the President did not in his address touch on this really pivotal problem. It has been said that we do not care who stamps our access permits as long as the traffic is not held up. But this is a dangerous view, for if the East Germans do stamp our permits, then we shall be pressed to recognize them ultimately. The issues it raises deserve a full and frank discussion.

Second, the President did not refer to the situation of the captive nations of Eastern Europe except briefly and in terms that raise some doubts. What he said was:

We recognize the Soviet Union's historical concerns about their security in Central and Eastern Europe, after a series of ravaging invasions—and we believe arrangements can be worked out which will help to meet those concerns, and make it possible for both security and freedom to exist in this troubled area.

I question first the extent to which the Soviet Union in both 19th and 20th century did not bring upon itself those ravaging invasions of which the President spoke by deliberate attempts to intervene in East European affairs.

The President seemed to be stressing the rights of the Soviet Union to security rather than the rights of the people there to self-determination not only for East Berlin, but also for East Germany, and all of east and central Europe. If any issue is to be brought before the United Nations for adjudication, the fate of the captive nations richly deserves to be.

Third, an increase in our conventional forces, even though I for one support it fully and consider it necessary, raises a big strategic question. In the past, our policy has been to make it very clear that we would not fight a ground war in Europe, where Soviet manpower is so much greater than ours. Berlin's garrison was to be no more than a tripwire which should the Soviets attack, would lead us to whatever type of reaction would suit the situation, whether a nuclear assault or something less. There are certainly dangers in this policy, but as our whole troop deployments and strategic planning in NATO has been based on this concept, we would do well to consider the full implications of a shift or modification on it at this point. Here again the President has left us somewhat in the

dark on questions that are of vital concern throughout the free world.

Another question raised but not answered by the message last night was the financing of the necessary increases in national defense.

The President proposes a \$3.5 billion increase in defense expenditures which I am sure the Congress will approve. This is on top of a projected budgetary deficit for fiscal 1962 of some \$5 to \$7 billion. The total deficit for fiscal 1962 will therefore be somewhere around \$10 billion. This is an extraordinarily high figure for a period of relative prosperity.

This deficit will cost the average American family somewhere between \$200 and \$300 a year either now if the President increases taxes or in the future if we continue to add to our national debt.

I think it is a mistake to put off until January 1962 consideration of all problems relating to a tax increase. We must start now in the Congress and in the Nation as a whole to determine what our priorities shall be and how we shall raise the necessary additional Federal revenues. Do we want a tax increase to cover the full deficit in 1962? If so, what taxes are we going to raise?

Mr. President, I referred above to the matter of priorities. It may well be that we would be better off tightening our belts at home and putting off domestic spending in order to decrease this deficit and thereby have a limited tax increase required, so as not to place so great a burden on the taxpayer and our economy. This is a very fundamental decision. How much will the government do?

It is dangerous for our country to ignore the need for a sound Federal budget.

If we are going to tighten our belts at home, we must start now. Preparedness is a two-way proposition. We must prepare at home and we must prepare in Berlin. We cannot simply arm overseas and defer until tomorrow the responsibilities of a free society to meet the cost of freedom at home.

But I return to the thesis with which I began. My aim is to be constructive. We all want to support the President in these perilous times. He is entitled to our frankness in appraising his proposals. He has made a fine address to the American people and we are ready, I believe, to support the firm stand he has taken.

#### WALTER HAGEN RECEIVES FIRST WALTER HAGEN AWARD

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, one of Rochester, N.Y.'s most famous sons, the immortal Walter Hagen will receive this afternoon in Chicago the first Walter Hagen Award. This honor, which was named for Mr. Hagen before it was decided he would be its first recipient, will be presented annually to a person whom the Golf Writers Association of America feels has made important contributions to furthering international golf competition.

The Haig as he was affectionately known, was probably the greatest all-time international golfer. In the course

of his brilliant and exciting career he won the British Open four times and seven times captained the U.S. Ryder Cup team. His skill on the links was matched by his vivid personality and unmatched showmanship.

I am particularly pleased that his contributions to golfing have been recognized in this way because he is perhaps the greatest athlete ever produced by my home city of Rochester. Lawrence Robinson, of the New York World-Telegram & Sun, who is president of the Golf Writers Association of America graciously invited me to participate in today's ceremonies honoring this great athlete. Although I cannot attend in person, I did want to take this opportunity to salute the Haig and wish him well.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have several columns concerning Walter Hagen and a news story describing the Walter Hagen Award printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Chicago American, June 5, 1961]

WALTER HAGEN AWARD BELATED HONOR FOR  
GREAT GOLF STAR

(By Warren Brown)

Somewhat belatedly, if you ask who trailed him, on course and off—in the twenties and thirties, recognition of sorts is about to be given to Walter Hagen, and what he stood for in competitive golf.

There has been created a Walter Hagen Award.

The 379 members of the Golf Writers Association, not quite as active as the baseball or football writers associations, but more so than the Turf Writers Association, are about to be asked to ballot on a list of candidates to determine the first winner. Present plans call for the presentation of the award at Olympia Fields, in conjunction with the PGA championship.

The Golf Writers Association, Larry Robinson, president, and Charley Bartlett, executive secretary, has a meeting scheduled at Detroit the day before the U.S. Open championship begins. By that time, it is expected, most of the voters will have made up their minds, or have someone make them up for them.

To simplify matters—oh, yeah?—a screening committee of 11 GWA members is presenting a slate from which the 379 voters may pick and choose.

The screening committee is headed by Merrell Whittlesey, Jr., of Washington, and includes, besides Robinson and Bartlett, authors from Miami, Fort Worth, Boston, Denver, Knoxville, Oklahoma City, and London.

More interesting to me is the fact that while a Hagen Award has finally been created, it took a British golfing enthusiast, Dr. S. L. Simpson, chairman of S. Simpson, Ltd., clothes manufacturers, to think it up, for American presentation.

Hagen's exploits in U.S. Open, PGA, Western Open, and whatever else there was in his time need no recounting here, certainly. Or do they?

It is not surprising they still remember him vividly in Merrie England. No competitive golfer before him and none since him has contributed as much to the gaiety of golf, and appreciation of the pro golfer in England, America or anywhere else. "The Haig" happened to light in his nomadic existence.

He won the British Open four times. He was seven times captain of the U.S. Ryder Cup team in competition with Great Britain.

He was as buddy-buddy with the Prince of Wales as were Jack Kearns, Mickey Walker, and Dave Shade.

Obviously the British, with Dr Simpson making the play (the Golf Writers Association caddying for him) is one up on the representatives of Madison Avenue. Until now, these promotional advertising experts haven't been exactly aloof from the field of trophies for all sorts of occasions.

I simply cannot understand why none of them didn't get around to such a thing as a Hagen Award.

However, it may be just as well. For among all trophy donors who have ever come to my attention, Dr Simpson (trade name DAKS) may well be the most gracious of all.

When he decreed the award should be decided upon by the Golf Writers Association of America, he must have pleased Robertson, Bartlett, and others who have been arguing for years (and properly so) that "The Hag" wasn't getting the lasting recognition his impact on competitive golf deserved.

In creating the award, Dr Simpson said: "In many senses we in Britain share Walter Hagen with you. After all, he was our Open champion. Always a colorful figure, he was a superb craftsman. While not passing over our own greats, such as Harry Vardon and Henry Cotton, it may well be that Walter Hagen was the dominant force in creating modern golf."

Are you listening, Madison Avenue?

[From the Chicago American, June 16, 1961]  
WHO RATES FIRST HAGEN GOLF AWARD MORE THAN HAGEN?

(By Leo Fischer)

Weekend roundup—or clearing out the desk before taking off on a vacation.

Like my esteemed fellow worker Warren Brown, I also get asked to vote on awards, etc., the latest of which is the Walter Hagen trophy for the person who has done the

The official ballot includes Dwight Eisenhower, Bobby Jones, Francis Ouimet, Walter Hagen, Henry Cotton, Joe Dey, and several others, but to this voter there is only one choice—Hagen himself.

If he doesn't become the first winner of the Walter Hagen trophy (preferably filled with scotch) there's no justice. All these other nominees have done much, of course, to further what the sponsor calls "Anglo-American relations," but who can match The Hag for laughs, thrills, excitement, color, victories (he won four British Open titles) and great golf?

One of my favorite Hagen stories concerns the final day of the 1926 British open when he came to the 18th needing a 3 to tie Bobby Jones. It was a tough 500-yarder but that didn't bother Walter.

His drive was good for about 200. He played his second shot, which left him 150 yards from the green. Hagen decided this was a good spot to give the staid Britishers a real show.

He walked to the green and examined it closely as the crowd gaped in amazement. He sighted back to where the ball lay and carefully marked the direction. Then he called his caddy over and stationed him on the green as he told the astonished young man to be ready to pull the pin out as the ball approached.

Then Walter walked back to the ball, motioned the crowd to be quiet, shaded his eyes to take another look at the green 150 yards away and then carefully made his shot as the crowd watched in silent amazement.

Probably even Hagen was surprised as the ball headed like an arrow for the cup, landed 10 yards in front of it, rolled straight for the hole—and then bounced over to come to rest

an inch or two away. It was a spectacular bit of showmanship, even for Hagen, despite the fact that he missed his million-to-one shot—and the crowd showed its appreciation with a tremendous un-British ovation.

There's never been anyone like him and probably never will be again—and I hope he's the man to receive the award at the PGA tournament at Olympia Fields next month.

#### PUERTO RICO COMMONWEALTH DAY

Mr KEATING. Mr President, I should like to call the attention to the fact that yesterday, July 25, is celebrated by Americans of Puerto Rican descent, both on the mainland and on the island itself, as Puerto Rican Commonwealth Day.

This day commemorates the development of self-government on the island of Puerto Rico within the framework of adherence to the more general Government of the United States.

The Puerto Rican people have come to occupy a most important role on the mainland as well as on their native island. In New York State alone there are now more than 700,000 persons of Puerto Rican descent.

These have by now largely surmounted the early difficulties of adjustment that have met each of the succeeding waves of immigrants, beginning with the first settlers in New England and Virginia, that have arrived on these shores. The Puerto Ricans in New York and in other States are now playing important and respected professional, economic, and political roles. Puerto Ricans spend an estimated \$1 billion each year in New

The United States is proud of its citizens of Puerto Rican descent. We are pleased with the great progress that has been made on the island under commonwealth government, and we are appreciative of the contribution that has been made by Puerto Ricans to our national life on the mainland.

#### SACRIFICE IS A TWO-WAY STREET

Mr MILLER. Mr President, last night millions of Americans heard the President of the United States enunciate a clear, unequivocal, and sound policy of this country and, in fact, the other countries of the free world, with respect to the Berlin situation. Moreover, the persuasive reasons underlying this policy were also cogently presented. I do not think there should be any doubt in the minds of the leaders in the Kremlin over the firmness of our resolve and the integrity of our word concerning our commitments on Berlin. I do not think there are any doubts in the minds of most Americans over the correctness of these commitments.

President Kennedy, in the course of his address, asked for advice and suggestions. It is in response to this request that I now wish to direct my remarks. If they seem pointed at times, may I say they are intended to be. I believe in speaking frankly and openly, and I am sure the President does too. Indeed, it is only by doing so that the

objectives we share with respect to America's future can be most rapidly secured.

Sacrifice, Mr President, is a two-way street. Sacrifices by the people should be matched by sacrifices by their leadership. President Kennedy gave the assurance that he was well aware of the fact that many American families will bear the burden of his requests for what amounts to partial mobilization.

Studies or careers will be interrupted—

He said—

husbands and sons will be called away incomes will be reduced.

He added that these are burdens which must be borne if freedom is to be defended. However, he failed to couple his call for the people to bear these burdens with a declaration of any willingness on his part to sacrifice some of the nondefense spending programs of the New Frontier.

Times have changed since this administration drew up its domestic spending programs earlier this year, Mr President. Or, perhaps I should say, that times have not changed really, but the President—since the Vienna meeting with Premier Khrushchev and the Berlin crisis—has finally faced up to the stark facts of what the cold war with the Communist world means. It does not mean, Mr President, politics as usual and domestic spending as usual. It means action—not words—in line with the policy expressed by President Kennedy in his special message on urgent national needs of May 25, wherein he said:

If the budget deficit is to be held within manageable proportions, it will be necessary to hold tightly to prudent fiscal standards, and I request the cooperation of the Congress in this regard—to refrain from adding funds or programs, desirable as they may be, to the budget.

Since January 20 we have been fed a constant stream of messages from the White House on New Frontier programs—all expressing a sense of urgency. For example, President Kennedy has said:

Federal grants for both higher and public school education can no longer be delayed (state of the Union message).

I urge that area redevelopment legislation be enacted without delay (message on economic recovery and growth).

Prompt and favorable consideration of the [Federal judgeship bill] will be of direct benefit to millions of people throughout the country. Designed to relieve serious congestion and delays in many Federal Courts (Judgeships letter). Became law on May 19 but only one appointment made by the President to date.

I urge its prompt and impartial consideration (Federal highway program message).

To meet this urgent need for skilled manpower we are proposing the establishment of a Peace Corps (special message on the Peace Corps).

I commend this program to the Congress and urge its prompt consideration and enactment (special message on housing and community development).

I now request that Congress appropriate the full amount of \$600 million. We may not have another chance (message on Latin America).

Knowledge of the oceans is more than a matter of curiosity. Our very survival may hinge upon it (oceanographic research message).

These measures are essential steps the Government should take to enable the housing industry to return to full production as soon as possible (President's letter on the housing bill).

The need for prompt enactment of this legislation is clear (letter on training and retraining of workers).

The total amount requested is both minimal and crucial, the single most important program available for building the frontiers of freedom (foreign aid message).

Let it be clear that I am asking the Congress and the country to carry very heavy costs of \$531 million in fiscal 1962—an estimated \$7 to \$9 billion additional over the next 5 years. It is a most important decision that we make as a Nation (message on space program).

There can be no question, Mr. President, but what all of these programs—and the many others proposed by this administration—are meritorious. The trouble is that the President has failed to give them second place to the most important program of all—national defense. On May 17, on this floor, I warned that the deficit spending policies of this administration will inevitably lead to more inflation; that the sacrifices our people will be compelled to make will be attributable not to increased spending for national defense but to

increased spending for nondefense programs. On March 29, I said:

When we have another round of inflation and tax increases, or both, I want the people to know that it won't be a sacrifice they are making for the sake of national defense. I want them to know precisely that their sacrifice will be for nondefense spending.

President Kennedy said last night that we have mortgaged our very future on defense, but he should have told the people that we have mortgaged our future on nondefense spending programs of his administration. Why did he say he intends to submit to the Congress a balanced budget for fiscal year 1963? Why wait until then? Why not cut back on nondefense spending and achieve a balanced budget for 1962? Why wait until next year to ask Congress for tax increases, if necessary, to preserve a balanced budget? Why give inflation—the cruelest tax of all—another round?

In last night's issue of the Evening Star the lead editorial stated views which support this position.

In this situation, it seems to us that at least two things are imperative. Our allies must assume their full share of the effort, despite the obvious reluctance of some to do so. And the Kennedy administration as well as the American people must be willing to give up or postpone expenditures on things which are not essential. True, Mr. Kennedy said last night that we must keep down all spending "not thoroughly justified in budget requests." He seems to think,

however, that everything for which he has asked since taking office is justified, and he offers the easy assurance that "we can afford all these efforts." We disagree. As this Nation begins to prepare for the danger of war, it should be willing to cut back on those things which are not essential to this preparation. The more abundant life has great political appeal, but its maintenance is not compatible with the grim demands which Mr. Kennedy says are imposed upon us by the requirements of national survival.

To show what I am getting at, Mr. President, I have prepared two tables. The first one, entitled "Budget Expenditures by Major Agency," shows the impact of our deficit spending for this fiscal year of various increases asked for by the President. His requests for increases in nondefense spending programs amount to some \$3 billion. If we take into account the failure of the Democratic Congress to pass increases in postal rates, or to raise taxes in a similar amount, the deficit comes to over \$3.8 billion. The second chart shows the nondefense spending programs that go to make up this total. It consists of the increases asked for by the President on March 28 and the increases asked for by the President on May 25. I ask unanimous consent that these tables be inserted in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the tables were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

*Budget expenditures by major agency, fiscal year 1962*

[In millions]

Department or agency	Jan 16, 1961	Mar 28, 1961, revision			May 25, 1961	
		Estimate as January program	Five percent and program changes			
Legislative branch and the judiciary	\$203		\$4	\$207		\$207
Executive Office of the President	92			92		92
Funds appropriated to the President						
Mutual security—Economic and contingencies	1,875			1,875	\$75	1,950
Other	75	—\$50	50	175		175
Independent offices						
Atomic Energy Commission	2,680		—10	2,670		2,670
Federal Aviation Agency	730	—3	10	743		743
National Aeronautics and Space Administration	955		85	1,050	330	1,380
Small Business Administration	98			98	88	186
U.S. Information Agency	138		8	146	2	148
Veterans' Administration	5,369	—60	95	5,404		5,404
Other	436	—11	31	456		456
General Services Administration	496		2	498		498
Housing and Home Finance Agency	728		214	942		942
Department of Agriculture	5,782	180	478	6,440		6,440
Department of Commerce	566		48	614	19	633
Department of Defense—Military						
Military functions	42,910	235	*655	43,800	*100	43,900
Military assistance	1,750	—100		1,650	*50	1,700
Other	984	20	*17	1,021		1,021
Department of Defense—Civil	4,005		793	4,798		4,798
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare	873		33	906		906
Department of the Interior	294		2	296		296
Department of Justice	223		431	654	60	714
Department of Labor	63			63		63
Post Office Department	345		6	351		351
Department of State						
Interest	8,593	100		8,693		8,693
Other	1,095		25	1,120		1,120
District of Columbia	66			66		66
Allowance for contingencies	100			100		100
Subtotal	81,532	417	2,977	84,926	724	85,650
Deduct interfund transactions	667			667		66
Total	80,865	417	2,977	84,259	724	84,984

Total increases over Eisenhower budget	3,701
Add	
Deviation from general fund (highway program)	150
Increase on postal rate increases by Democratic Congress	800
Total of deficit attributable to Kennedy administration	4,651
Less (*) Amounts related to national defense	—822
Total of deficit attributable to nondefense spending	3,829

NOTE.—The above does not include back-door financing of several billions for fiscal 1962 and subsequent years (e.g., \$8,800,000,000 for housing, \$300,000,000 for depressed areas, \$375,000,000 for Federal airport aid, and billions for foreign aid).

*Increases made in fiscal 1962 by Kennedy administration on Mar 28, 1961*

Explanation	Additional fiscal 1962 expenditures caused by Administrative action and program increases	Explanation	Additional fiscal 1962 expenditures caused by Administrative action and program increases
	<i>Million</i>		<i>Million</i>
Legislative branch and the judiciary Cost of the judgeships bill, judiciary	\$4	Department of Health, Education, and Welfare—Con.	
Funds appropriated to the President (other) For Chilean reconstruction	50	Public Health Service	
Independent offices		Medical education and research	\$9
Atomic Energy Commission The construction costs under the AEC were increased, but operating expenses were cut, making a minus of \$10,000,000.	-10	Community health activities	9
Federal Aviation Agency Development of a supersonic passenger air transport	10	Water and air pollution control	12
U S Information Agency Expansion of this Agency's activities in Africa and Latin America		Other Public Health Service (mainly National Institutes of Health)	38
Veterans' Administration	95	Maternal and child welfare grants	10
VA direct housing loans	\$30	Subtotal	846
Selective increase in compensation rates	65	Vocational rehabilitation and other	9
Other	31	Subtotal	855
National Science Foundation Grants for basic research and science education	\$29	Less OASDI liberalization and medical care	-52
Tennessee Valley Authority	2	Less aid to federally affected schools	-5
General Services Administration Supplemental for distribution of supplies caused by the increased workload at the depots	2	Total	1 798
Housing and Home Finance Agency	214	Department of the Interior	
College housing loans	\$45	Bureau of Indian Affairs (Indian welfare and education)	\$14
Low-cost housing	65	National Park Service (Mission 66 and seashore areas)	11
Urban renewal	54	Other Interior Department	8
Public facility loans	30	Department of Justice Cost of judgeships bill in Justice Department	\$2
Housing for the elderly	10	Department of Labor Temporary extended unemployment compensation (not self financing during 1st year)	431
Other	10	Department of State For use mainly for Africa	6
Department of Agriculture	478	Treasury Department Other	
Commodity Credit Corporation (price supports cotton, peanuts, rice, and milk, surplus food distribution abroad and other)	\$164	Coast Guard	\$8
Surplus food distribution (domestic)	100	General changes in Department	17
Food stamp pilot program	50	Amount of additional expenditures in fiscal 1962 caused by administrative action and program changes as announced in budget revision of Mar 28, 1961	2, 220
Farm ownership and operating loans	77	Increases made in fiscal 1962 by Kennedy Administration on May 25, 1961	75
Rural Electrification Administration loans	15	Funds appropriated to the President Mutual security, economic and contingencies	
School lunch program	10	Presidential contingency fund, aid for emerging nations (AID program) (total estimated cost of program, \$250,000,000)	75
Special milk program	9	Independent offices	
Farm housing loans	45	Small Business Administration	
Forest Service	21	Increased lending authority for SBA	88
Subtotal	491	U S Information Agency	
Less other incidentals	-13	For increasing programs in Latin America and Southeast Asia (total estimated cost of program, \$121,000,000)	2
Department of Commerce	48	Department of Commerce To the Weather Bureau for worldwide satellite system for weather observation (total cost of program, \$53,000,000)	19
Scientific research and other programs in Department	\$8	Department of Labor Manpower development and training program (total cost not given)	60
Area redevelopment	40	Increases made in budget by President's message of May 25, 1961, regarding fiscal 1962	244
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare	793	Total increases as of July 24, 1961	2, 464
Elementary and secondary education	\$500		
Aid to higher education	21		
National defense education	32		
Aid to dependent children of the unemployed	215		

<sup>1</sup> There is a discrepancy of \$5,000,000 because it is impossible to determine what amount is for vocational rehabilitation and what amount for other expenses not

included in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare budget for fiscal 1962

Mr MILLER Mr President, here is the place for President Kennedy to make his sacrifices. Here is the place for the sacrifices of our people in the form of billions of dollars of more defense spending and the hardship to families and businesses of reservists, National Guardsmen, and draftees who will be called up to be matched by sacrifices by their leadership in cutting back on nondefense spending. Only today, Mr President, we received President Kennedy's message requesting \$3,454,600,000 more defense spending for fiscal 1962. Why did not he couple with this message a call to Congress to cut back nondefense-spending programs by a like amount? My suggestion, Mr President, is that President Kennedy forthwith send to the Congress a supplemental message making such a request. More-

over, this request should be accompanied by a request to cut back nondefense employees of the Federal Government to not greater than the total at the time he took office. During the first 4 months of his administration, net additional Federal civilian employees added to the Federal payroll amounted to over 33,000. This is not the kind of self-restraint that leadership practices when the people are being asked to tighten their belts.

My suggestion, Mr President, is designed to make sure that President Kennedy will have the wholehearted response of our people which is vital to our national defense effort. People who bear the brunt of semimobilization will not have cause to wonder why there is business as usual in Washington if this suggestion is followed. There will be no question in anyone's mind over the

seriousness of the President's call to the colors. My suggestion will insure that the President will carry out his commitments in the state of the Union message, when he said:

This administration will not distort the value of the dollar in any fashion. And this is a commitment. In short, whatever is required to be done will be done to back up all our efforts abroad, and to make certain that, in the future as in the past, the dollar is as sound as a dollar.

Another suggestion, Mr President, is that before we go into a semimobilization stage in this country, certain political-economic action be taken against our enemy in the cold war—the one with whom our mobilized forces would engage in event of a breach of the peace over Berlin. Is there to be business as usual with the Kremlin and other bloc na-



tions while billions of new dollars are being spent to fight a conventional war with them?

And while thousands of reservists, National Guardsmen, and draftees are being called up to fight such a war? I do not think there should be business as usual at all. But nowhere in the President's speech did we hear a warning that signing of a separate peace treaty with East Germany will be followed by action on our part to close down Soviet and bloc embassies and consulates in this country, to stop foreign trade with them, and to stop foreign aid with nations that carry on foreign trade with them. Why not this before we get into semimobilization?

Finally, Mr. President, I must confess some misgivings over the validity of the President's justification for increasing our conventional forces. His reason for doing so is that we intend to have a wider choice than humiliation or all-out nuclear action. It is not as simple as that, Mr. President. There is such a thing as limited nuclear action too. And one wonders just how wide a choice the President desires. Is it to rest on the employment of 50,000 conventional troops, or 100,000, or 500,000, or 1 million? Where does he draw the line? Surely he is not suggesting that we match the Communist world division for division, tank for tank, gun for gun, or plane for plane. Still he said last night that we need the capability to meet all levels of aggressor pressure with whatever levels of force are required.

Mr. President, I have one final suggestion to President Kennedy at this time. Experts on communism have warned us that we can expect a war of nerves from the Soviets whenever it suits their purpose, and that the cold war will last for years. We should not get trigger-happy every time a crisis arises with Premier Khrushchev. Berlin is not the only place which will serve as—to use the President's words—a testing place of Western courage and will. The Senior Senator from Minnesota has reported that the Soviets are not, in his judgment, ready to go to war over Berlin. We have the capability to destroy them if they decide to break the peace, and Premier Khrushchev knows it. In my judgment, appropriate political and economic action, coupled with assurance to the leaders in the Kremlin that we do not intend to get bogged down in an indecisive conventional war with them—over Berlin or anywhere else—will maintain our rights and the rights of the German people in West Berlin and West Germany without having to fire a shot.

Then what happens? Do we let the reservists and National Guardsmen and draftees go home, only to call them up again the next time Premier Khrushchev begins another war of nerves over some other area in the world? This is, I am sure, what the Communist strategists would like to see, because they believe they can cause us to reach economic chaos by our own inept planning and strategy. And so, Mr. President, my suggestion is to put first things first in

this war of nerves with the Soviets, realizing that there will be more to come and that we cannot react every time one arises by getting this country into a state of semimobilization. We are capable of reacting effectively on the political and economic front; and if, perchance, this does not work, then we can always go further.

These, Mr. President, are my suggestions. They are not motivated by partisan considerations—only by the dedication, which all of us share with President Kennedy, to what is best for our country and the cause of freedom throughout the world.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MILLER. I am delighted to yield to my friend from South Carolina.

Mr. THURMOND. I congratulate the distinguished Senator from Iowa upon the point he made about reducing nonessential and nondefense expenditures. As the Senator probably knows, in the past 10 years defense expenditures have gone down \$1.3 billion, while nondefense expenditures have gone up over \$19 billion.

Some people wish to blame the cost of Government on defense. The Defense Establishment does take a larger share than any other department or agency of Government. However, upon a strong defense depends the survival of our Nation and that of the free world. We must provide a strong Military Establishment in order to protect our survival.

While doing that, however, it is my judgment that we can do it and stay within a balanced budget if we will reduce nonessential and nondefense expenditures. Is that the opinion of the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. MILLER. I thank the Senator from South Carolina. Of course he knows that my answer is "yes." The very able Senator from South Carolina not only speaks the way he is speaking tonight, but he also votes in the same way. In other words, when it comes to matters which are obviously not necessary compared to our national defense effort, the very able Senator from South Carolina votes against them, because he cannot in his conscience, any more than I can in my conscience, support these measures at a time of great crisis to the future of our country.

If one of the major efforts of the administration is to achieve recovery and to attain full employment—and I am sure that this is a most laudable objective—it is not necessary to have a depressed areas bill, for example. If we expand our mobilization base and our military procurement base, there will be jobs that will have to be filled to meet these requirements. I believe we are going to double up if we carry through with the depressed area legislation. There will be plenty of requirements for able bodied, skilled workers in defense plants to meet the requirements of the military without doubling up and going into other types of nondefense spending.

Mr. THURMOND. The Senator from South Carolina expects to cooperate with

the President of the United States in building up the military forces of this country. He expects to cooperate with the President in properly preparing this country to meet the emergencies which may lie ahead.

But he feels, in doing so, that it would be the part of wisdom, on the part of the President, the administration leaders, and the leaders of both parties in Congress, to eliminate and discontinue nondefense and nonessential expenditures. Otherwise, the people will have to bear much heavier burdens of taxation, and we shall continue to go further and further into debt. If we go further and further into debt—and our debt is already \$290 billion, in fact, the I O U's, the obligations, and responsibilities of our Government, together with the debt of \$292 billion, aggregate about \$750 billion—that debt will some day have to be paid. It cannot be paid by one generation. So it means that this generation is living on the sustenance and the substance which belong to the next generation and to generations to come.

I do not think it is fair, I do not think it is right, I do not think it is equitable, I do not think it is just, I do not think it is wise, for us to be spending beyond our income and placing this burden on the children of tomorrow and the children of future generations.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, the distinguished Senator from South Carolina is an acknowledged military leader in his own right, having many years of experience. He is an expert, if we have such a person, in things relating to the military. I say to him that there is something additional to weapons and bodies. It is necessary to have spirit, to have morale. Does not the Senator agree that the impact of unnecessary nondefense spending, which will result inevitably in either more taxes or inflation or both, and the impact on the economy and the people's money will tend to diminish the effectiveness of the military power of our Nation?

Mr. THURMOND. I would answer in the affirmative and say it certainly does. In my judgment, if we continue to spend for nondefense and nonessential matters, we shall experience terrific inflation in this country. We shall plunge the Government further into debt to the extent of billions of dollars. We shall impose higher taxes on the people. We shall place on future generations obligations unheard of and unreasonable.

It is my sincere hope that our leaders will begin to think seriously upon this question and bring about a sound fiscal policy. This can be done within a balanced budget and still maintain a strong National Defense Establishment, which this country requires and demands.

Mr. MILLER. I thank the distinguished Senator from South Carolina.

#### TRANSACTION OF ADDITIONAL ROUTINE BUSINESS

By unanimous consent, the following additional routine business was transacted:

### ADDITIONAL REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

The following additional report of a committee was submitted

By Mr MANSFIELD, from the Committee on Rules and Administration, without amendment

S Res 183 Resolution to print as a Senate document a study entitled "Proposed Federal Aid for Education"

### ADDITIONAL BILLS INTRODUCED

The following additional bills were introduced, read the first time, and by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as indicated

By Mr MAGNUSON

S 2319 A bill for the relief of Harry E Ellison, captain, U S Army, retired, to the Committee on the Judiciary

(See the remarks of Mr MAGNUSON when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading)

By Mr MAGNUSON (for himself and Mr JACKSON)

S 2320 A bill to amend the act admitting the State of Washington into the Union in order to authorize the use of funds from the disposition of certain lands for the construction of State charitable, educational, penal, or reformatory institutions, to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs

### HARRY E ELLISON

Mr MAGNUSON Mr President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill for the relief of Harry E Ellison, captain, U S Army, retired, I ask unanimous consent to have a statement relating to this case printed in the RECORD

The PRESIDING OFFICER The bill will be received and appropriately referred, and, without objection, the statement will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S 2319) for the relief of Harry E Ellison, captain, U S Army, retired, introduced by Mr MAGNUSON, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

The statement presented by Mr MAGNUSON is as follows

Capt Harry E Ellison, U S Army (ret), O1797269, 143 SW 140th Street, Seattle, Wash., retired from active duty on January

31, 1954, by reason of disability resulting from gun shot wounds received in line of duty. Was granted a 40-percent disability pension amounting to \$199.68. He secured employment soon after retirement but this was terminated in January 1958 when he suffered a mild stroke. This stroke was followed in February 1958 by a rather severe heart attack, which has restricted his activities to the point where employment is extremely difficult to obtain. Wife is semi-invalid and unable to do any work—also requires expensive treatment.

On March 18, 1957, Ellison was advised by the Army Finance Center that he owed the Government \$3,219.05 for alleged overpayments of pay and allowances. Considerable correspondence followed, and amount has now been increased to \$3,998.54.

In April 1960 a deduction of \$50 per month was made from his disability pension and this monthly deduction is now continuing. Deductions for his insurance premiums have increased from \$17.70 to \$26 per month reducing his monthly pension to \$135.66.

While on active duty, Captain Ellison had always computed his pay in accordance with the data provided him by the finance officer, Fort Custer, Mich., and had no way of knowing there were errors in the computation.

This seems to be a very worthy case, meritorious of private legislation. In a somewhat similar case, President Kennedy on April 29 signed a private bill sponsored by Senator BEALL canceling a \$4,447.98 debt of Mr Earl H Pendell, of Baltimore, who had been overpaid that amount in an "administrative error," as a Federal court reporter. The error was discovered and part of the overpayment was deducted from his salary before illness forced Mr Pendell's retirement.

### INDEPENDENT OFFICES APPROPRIATION BILL, 1962—AMENDMENTS

Mr JAVITS submitted amendments, intended to be proposed by him, to the bill (H R 7445) making appropriations for sundry independent executive bureaus, boards, commissions, corporations, agencies, and offices for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1962, and for other purposes, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

### ADDITIONAL APPENDIX MATTERS

By Mr MAGNUSON

Address by Under Secretary of the Interior James K Carr at luncheon honoring Wil-

liam (Billy) Ciapp Ephrata, Wash., July 18, 1961.

Address entitled "The Mission of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress," delivered by Henry H Buckman before Northwest Rivers and Harbors Congress, Newport Oreg., June 23, 1961.

News release by Public Health Service relating to maritime sanitation.

By Mr ALLOTT

Editorial entitled "One Way Street," published in the Wall Street Journal of July 11, 1961, dealing with the effect of Federal programs upon individual States.

Article entitled "Automation? Absolutely," published recently in sundry news and business magazines.

By Mr SCHOEPEL

Article entitled "Behind the Iron Curtain" written by Vincent B Welch and published in the August 1960 *Alumnus*.

Articles entitled "Sweet Land of Liberty," "Communism a Clear and Present Danger" and "Is Time Running Out?" written by Leonard F Banowitz and published in the *Coleman Spot-Lite* of July 4, 1960, July 15, 1960, and August 1, 1960.

### ADJOURNMENT TO 11 A M TOMORROW

Mr THURMOND Mr President, if there is no further business to be transacted, I move that the Senate adjourn, in accordance with the previous order, until 11 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The motion was agreed to, and (at 10 o'clock and 54 minutes p m) the Senate adjourned, under the order previously entered, until tomorrow, Thursday, July 27, 1961, at 11 o'clock a m.

### NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate, July 26, 1961.

#### U S MARSHALS

William Marshall Broadrick, of Oklahoma, to be U S marshal for the eastern district of Oklahoma for the term of 4 years, vice Paul Johnson, resigned.

Casimir J Pajakowski, of Indiana, to be U S marshal for the northern district of Indiana for the term of 4 years, vice Roy M Amos.

#### BUREAU OF CUSTOMS

Joseph P Rostenkowski, of Illinois, to be collector of customs for Customs Collection District No 39, with headquarters at Chicago, Ill.

Envelope

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-29-2004 BY

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b7c

17-52036-46



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]  
DATE 1-2-11

TO The Director

FROM N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT The Congressional Record

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b7C

Pages 12007-12031. <sup>11/10/61</sup> Senator Thurmond, (D) South Carolina, spoke concerning the Communist menace. He stated "Too many, including persons in positions of high trust, neither fully realize the nature of the conflict nor the nature of the enemy which opposes us. - - - Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and author of 'Masters of Deceit,' a most knowledgeable work on communism, states 'We cannot hope to successfully meet the Communist menace unless there is a wide knowledge and understanding of its aims and designs.' - - - The events of recent years provide unimpeachable proof that we do not understand the nature or methods of Communists and communism." Mr. Thurmond refers to attacks against Mr. Hoover, the FBI and the Un-American Activities Committee. Mr. Thurmond submitted an article from the Worker (successor to the Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party, U.S.A.) of June 4, 1961, entitled "At the Military-Industrial Conference Big Business Plans Strategy—Military Discusses New Moves." Mr. Thurmond pointed out that "This article is a flagrant attack on the top military leadership of our country. - - - Included in the attack were also Mr. William C. Sullivan, Chief Inspector in the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and Mr. Lyman S. Kirkpatrick, Jr., Inspector General of the Central Intelligence Agency." Senator Curtis, (R) Nebraska, stated "I commend the Senator from South Carolina for speaking out forthrightly against the Communist ideology, for exposing it for what it is, and for taking a position which is in accord with that of J. Edgar Hoover, namely, that we as a people need to understand communism and be on the alert as to what it is doing now and what it has done in the past." Mr. Thurmond submitted an article by Mr. Hoover entitled "Communist Party, U.S.A." He also submitted other miscellaneous articles, statements, etc.

ORIGINAL FILED IN 66-1701-1

REC-98  
EX-105

162-52026-47  
NOT RECORDED  
126 SEP 20 1961

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for SEP 12 1961 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

64 SEP 25 1961

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted]  
ON 11-22-2004

FBI

Date 12/1/61

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-422089)  
FROM: SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-10799) (P)

PICKETING OF SPEECH OF  
U. S. SENATOR STROM THURMOND  
OF SOUTH CAROLINA, AT U. S.  
GRANT HOTEL, SAN DIEGO, CALIF.  
ON 11/28/61  
SWP - IS  
CINAL

Re San Diego airtel to Bureau dated 11/29/61 captioned  
as above.

[redacted] advised SA [redacted]  
[redacted] that at a meeting of the San Diego Branch of the  
Socialist Workers Party (SDB-SWP) held on the evening of  
11/29/61, it was announced that the following members of the  
SDB-SWP participated in the picketing of Senator THURMOND's  
speech at the Grand Hotel, San Diego, on 11/28/61: ~~(U)~~

- 3 - Bureau
- 11 - San Diego

- (1 - 100-5796, SWP)
- (1 - 100-10799, CINAL)
- (1 - [redacted])
- (1 - 100-12219)
- (1 - 100-11615)
- (1 - 100-12519)
- (1 - 100-12087)
- (1 - 100-12369)
- (1 - 100-12498)
- (1 - 100-12163)

BAS:mfc  
(14)

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE~~  
12/26/82  
Classified by SP3cl/TAR  
Declassify on: OADR

REC-176 2052026

DEC 4 1961

EX-105  
DEC 6 1961  
[Handwritten signatures and stamps]

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-11497

(U)  
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b7D  
b6  
b7C  
b6  
b7C  
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Approved: 51 DEC 8 1961  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SD 100-10799

CA-  
[redacted] both white and neither  
of whom are members of the Socialist Workers Party, also  
participated. It was announced that this picketing activity  
had been considered successful. It was also announced at  
this branch meeting that the SDB-SWP would again cooperate  
with [redacted] of the Chollas Heights Democratic  
Club of San Diego in picketing the Mayfair Market (groceries)  
located on Federal Boulevard at Euclid Avenue, San Diego,  
on Friday, 12/1/61, at 7:30 P.M. because this market refuses  
to hire Negro clerks. On Thursday evening, 11/30/61, members  
of the SDB-SWP were to meet at branch headquarters in San  
Diego, 5243 San Bernardo Terrace, to make picket signs.  
This activity on the part of the SWP was a matter of  
cooperation in connection with the request of [redacted]  
[redacted] of the Chollis Heights Democratic Club. (S) (U)

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

F B I

Date 11/29/61

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via A I R T E L A I R M A I L  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-10799)

PICKETING OF SPEECH OF  
U.S. SENATOR STROM THURMOND  
OF SOUTH CAROLINA, AT U.S.  
GRANT HOTEL, SAN DIEGO, CALIF.  
ON 11/28/61  
SWP - IS  
CINAL

[redacted] advised SA [redacted]  
[redacted] that the Chollas Heights Democratic  
Club, San Diego, had requested and received assistance of  
the San Diego Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SDB-SWP)  
in picketing at the U. S. Grant Hotel in San Diego on the  
evening of 11/28/61. The occasion was the speech of U. S.  
Senator STROM THURMOND, South Carolina, who spoke at the Grant  
Hotel at 7:00 p.m., 11/28/61, on "muzzling" of the nation's  
military officers.

The Senator's speech was sponsored by The San Diego  
Project Alert Committee, an Anti-Communist group. The  
picketing took place because Senator THURMOND is regarded as  
a "segregationalist" by the Chollas Heights Democratic Club,  
a club of one of the two major political parties in the Chollas  
Heights section of San Diego which is predominantly Negro.  
Informants advised that the request is believed to have  
emanated from [redacted] of the Chollas Heights  
Democratic Club, who is not a member of the SWP but who has  
in the past enlisted the aid of the SDB-SWP in picketing places

2 - Bureau

4 - San Diego { 1 - 100-5786, SWP )

{ 1 - 100-10799, CINAL )

{ 1 - [redacted] )  
{ 1 - [redacted] )

BAS:rkr

DEC 2 1961

Approved

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

Per

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b7D

SD 100-10799

charged with discrimination and segregation. [redacted] in turn reciprocates by attending social and fund raising parties of the SDB-SWP. Informants speculate that the SDB-SWP and the Chollas Heights Democratic Club are each trying to use each other to advantage.

Informants advised on 11/29/61 that the picketing took place as scheduled on 11/28/61 without incident.

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DO-6

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

4:45PM December 4, 1961

Senator STROM THURMOND (D. -  
South Carolina) telephoned locally  
through secretary, for the Director.  
Senator Thurmond's secretary was  
advised of the Director's absence and  
asked if one of the Director's  
assistants could be of service to the  
Senator.

Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. Belmont ✓  
Mr. Mohr ✓  
Mr. Callahan ✓  
Mr. Conrad ✓  
Mr. DeLoach ✓  
Mr. Evans ✓  
Mr. Malone ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Sullivan ✓  
Mr. Tavel ✓  
Mr. Trotter ✓  
Mr. Jones ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Mr. Ingram ✓  
Miss Holmes ✓  
Miss Gandy ✓

After checking with the Senator, the secretary  
replied, "No." She then hung up.

Unless advised to the contrary, a background  
memorandum will not be requested.

rry

1 - Mr. Ingram

REC-67

20 DEC 7 1961

CRIME RESEARCH

1 DEC 14 1961

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE: 12-5-61

FROM :

C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT :

SENATOR STROM THURMOND (D-SC)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-22-2004 BY [redacted]

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
 Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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DE LOACH  
 R. S. [signature]

By reference from the Director's Office, I talked with Senator Thurmond at 12:45 p.m. today. He stated that during his travels throughout the country making speeches against the Fulbright memorandum (a memorandum by Senator Fulbright calling upon the Pentagon to cause military personnel to refrain from speaking regarding matters not pertaining to the military), he had been asked many questions concerning the current status of the Communist Party in so far as prosecutive action is concerned.

I told Senator Thurmond that a 12-count indictment had been returned against the Party as of Friday (12-1-61). I told him that this indictment did not include the members of the Party, but was strictly against the Party itself.

The Senator next inquired as to when an indictment might be returned against the leaders of the top-ranking members. I told him this was a matter he would have to discuss with the Department. He asked who he could contact in the Department and I furnished him both the names [redacted]

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The Senator stated he wanted to let the Director know that in all his speeches, he had highly commended the FBI for its actions. He additionally advised that his principal criticism of Government action against the communists lay in considerable malfeasance in the Department of State. He pointed out that he was much encouraged by the enthusiasm shown as the result of his speeches and that he planned to continue making such addresses. He stated he would like to mention that he was misquoted last week in California when various newspapers reported that "Senator Thurmond claimed that the muzzling of the military came about as a result of orders from Moscow." He stated he had a tape recording of his speech and under no stretch of the imagination did he make such comments. I told the Senator strictly in confidence that speaking as an individual who often contacted his office, and because he and his office had always cooperated with us thoroughly, he might consider one word of advice. He stated that he would appreciate any comments we might care to make. I then told him that there was no doubt as to his campaign building up considerably. However, in all his speech making throughout the country, he wanted to make certain that he used absolute facts and did not stray from the truth. He stated he thought this was certainly a good idea and from now on, he planned to speak from a

1 - Mr. Belmont  
 1 - Mr. Sullivan  
 1 - Mr. Jones  
 CDD:geg

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(CONTINUED NEXT PAGE)

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5 DEC 15 1961

CRIME RECORDS  
 [signature]

50 DEC 22 1961

DeLoach to Mohr memo  
Re: Senator Strom Thurmond

written text. The Senator again expressed appreciation and the fact that he would continue to praise the FBI for its fight against communism.

*Very good.*  
Senator Thurmond has been cooperative; however, is most anxious to obtain as much publicity as possible. Our dealings with him will, of course, be on a very cautious basis.



RICHARD B. RUSSELL, GA., CHAIRMAN  
HARRY FLOOD BYRD, VA  
JOHN STENNIS, MISS  
STUART SYMINGTON, MO  
HENRY M. JACKSON, WASH  
SAM J. ERVIN, JR., NC  
STROM THURMOND, SC  
CLAIR ENGLE, CALIF  
E. L. BARTLETT, ALASKA  
HOWARD W. CANNON, NEV  
ROBERT C. BYRD, W. VA  
LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, MASS  
STANLEY BRIDGES, N.H.  
MARGARET CHASE SMITH, MAINE  
FRANCIS CASE, S. DAK  
PRESCOTT BUSH, CONN  
J. GLENN BEALL, MD

HARRY L. WINGATE, JR., CHIEF CLERK

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

January 5, 1961

*Muzzling THE M.L.I.T.A.R.Y.*

Dear Sir

Attached is a series of eight articles BY STROM THURMOND I have prepared for the purpose of giving the American people background information on the investigation into muzzling military anti-communist statements and seminars. As you know, the hearings on this important investigation begin Tuesday, January 23, 1962.

These articles are for release beginning Sunday, January 14, or anytime thereafter.

Attached also are two mats. <sup>(not included)</sup> One is a reproduction of my picture. The other is a reproduction of various headlines which show the similarity between articles published against anti-communism and anti-communist statements and seminars. This latter mat can best be used with Article No. 3.

The large headline in the mat is referred to in Article No. 3 as an article by Gus Hall, Secretary General of the Communist Party U.S.A., in which he urges an alliance against what he calls the threat of the "ultra-right" and the "military--big business complex." Below that is a headline from a subsequent Worker article interpreting Gus Hall's policy statement.

In the lower left-hand corner is an article from the July 18 issue of The Washington Post, written by Marquis Childs. In the center bottom portion is a headline from the communist publication, Political Affairs. This publication makes the point that the Administration has been pressured by the party into this alliance which Gus Hall advocated in July.

On the bottom right is an article by Cabell Phillips of The New York Times. This article and the one in the upper right-hand corner from The Washington Post are the two articles which attracted my attention to the Fulbright Memorandum.

Below The Washington Post article are reproductions of the covers of two magazines, The Nation and The Reporter, which are mentioned in Article No. 3 as having joined the fight against anti-communism after the Moscow Manifesto of December 5, 1960, and the Gus Hall policy statement.

I hope this material will be useful to you and that you will be able to publish this in order that the public might have a better understanding of what I, as the advocate in the investigation, feel to be needed background information on an important subject which merits close public attention and interest.

If there are any questions on any of this material, please contact me [REDACTED]

Sincerely, JAN 16 1962

Strom Thurmond

ST:da

51 JAN 29 1962

8-5MM  
PERS. FILE

Enclosure  
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DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

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ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE



52026-

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

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By U. S. Senator Strom Thurmond (D-SC)

On January 23, the Special Preparedness Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee will begin one of the most vital investigations undertaken on Capitol Hill in some time. The subcommittee is authorized to study and appraise the use of military personnel and facilities to inform military personnel and the public of the total menace which the forces of world communism pose to the free world.

The investigation will cover three areas. censorship of speeches and periodicals, troop information and education programs (including films), and cold war seminars. It is possible that the investigation could run for most of the congressional session.

The purpose of the investigation is not to promote sensationalism, spotlight communists, or persecute individuals. Rather, it is to go to the source of the policy which authorizes or is responsible for (1) soft-pedaling statements on communism in speeches and articles, (2) shelving or de-emphasizing troop training programs designed to acquaint military personnel with our insidious cold war enemy and his brainwashing techniques which worked so well in the Korean War because our troops were ill-prepared, and (3) discouragement of utilization of military personnel and facilities in cold war seminars designed to give the public a better appreciation of the enemy, as authorized in a 1958 National Security Council directive.

Americans should have a full examination of these policies so they can decide whether they want present policies continued or modified. The study I have made thus far of these policies convinces me that they have a deep underlying purpose which has not been readily apparent to the American public. This purpose is to combat the enemy in the cold war with a strategy which can be best defined as a no-win policy. We don't propose to win the cold war because we abhor only the aggressive, totalitarian aspects of communism. In

fact, we seem to be determined to join their professed revolution by adopting for ourselves and many of our allies the same social and economic measures which the communists use as bait to attain their goal of world domination.

Mr. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., administrative assistant to the President, has described experimentation in these social and economic proposals as 'democratic socialism.'

If the American people desire a no-win foreign policy and a domestic policy of democratic socialism, then they should have full information on such policies. Above all, they should have complete information on the enemy we face in the cold war so they can determine, as they have a right to do, whether these policies best fit the most effective prescription for maintaining our constitutional republic and the many blessings of liberty it has been able to preserve for us through the years.

If, however, our military leaders are suppressed in their anti-communist statements and seminars and everyone who speaks up against communism or the hidden policy changes in this country is to be labeled a fanatic, extremist, or superpatriot, then the American people will be robbed of their right to make the choice with full facts necessary to make such an important determination.

In the next article in this series, I shall discuss the lack of adequate knowledge of communism and the importance of increasing rather than decreasing dissemination of information on communist tactics and goals.

-THE END-

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-29-2004 BY [REDACTED]

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BY U.S. SENATOR STROM THURMOND (D-SC)

The right to know our enemy is not new. It is a right held and exercised by our forebears, from the time they identified King George III as the enemy of their day and discussed and criticized his aggressive acts.

Today, however, the right to know our enemy has assumed new proportions of importance. The present enemy poses not only a military threat, but also engages in psychological, political, economic, social, diplomatic and subversive attacks against us and other free peoples. The war communism wages against us is total in nature. Its form at a given time and place has for the most part been chosen by the enemy for his advantage and convenience.

In such a war, our unfamiliarity with the nature of the enemy and the tactics utilized by him, constitutes our primary vulnerability. Military power, although essential, cannot alone meet the communist assault. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, FBI director and author of Masters of Deceit, has stated: "We cannot hope to successfully meet the communist menace unless there is a wide knowledge and understanding of its aims and designs."

Implicit in Mr. Hoover's statement is the realization that there is no wide knowledge and understanding of communist aims and designs.

The events of recent years provide unimpeachable proof that we do not understand the nature or methods of communists and communism. Had we understood and appreciated the menace of communism, we would not today be suffering from the losses or our blind negotiations at Yalta and Potsdam. We would never have been bamboozled into characterizing the Red Chinese as "agrarian reformers." Castro, now a self-admitted communist of some years and a sympathizer since school days, would not have had our support in establishing a communist dictatorship over the Cuban people 90 miles from our shores.

If we as a people had understood communism we would never have fallen prey to subversion at the hands of Alger Hiss, the Rosenbergs, Greenglass, Fuchs, or Harry Dexter White, and the many other communist agents who were caught--not to mention those who remain undetected and unapprehended. The postwar years in America prove beyond doubt that Americans, by and large, do not fully understand communism and its tactics in trying to achieve world domination.

Knowledge of the enemy, if possessed and turned on the enemy, is a weapon of equal or superior potential to a nuclear-tipped ICBM. Such knowledge constitutes an impregnable defense against enemy propaganda and brainwashing efforts in the type mind warfare attacks directed against free peoples by the communist conspiracy. It can blunt the enemy's political, economic and diplomatic offenses and impair the effectiveness of his subversive efforts. Most important, knowledge of communism reveals its fallacies and weaknesses, thereby bolstering the self-confidence of free peoples and their will to emerge victorious from the struggle against communism.

The National Security Council directive of 1958 authorizing military participation in cold war seminars was designed to help meet the need of public information on communism and its tactics. This directive has in the <sup>past</sup> year been modified by a series of Defense Department actions which give the appearance of stifling rather than advancing public information on the enemy.

In the next article in this series, I shall explain the background facts leading up to the increased emphasis during 1961 on censorship of anti-communist actions and statements.

THE END

Muzzling the Military

THE ROOTS GO WAY BACK--EVEN TO MOSCOW

By U. S. Senator Strom Thurmond (D-SC)

The communists themselves are aware of the immense potentiality of widespread knowledge of the wiles of communism as a weapon to be effectively used against them in the cold war. Unfortunately, the communists have had relatively little to fear from America in this regard until recent years.

Largely as a result of a National Security Council directive issued in 1958, organized efforts were undertaken to establish a defense based on knowledge against communism and its propaganda. This directive authorized use of military personnel and facilities to conduct seminars on the cold war, particularly for reserve officers. These seminars, such as those supported by the Richardson Foundation and the Institute for American Strategy, have proved to be very responsible and successful. They have met with enthusiastic public reception, filling in part the vast public hunger for information on communism and the cold war.

In December, 1960, representatives of communist parties of 81 countries, meeting in Moscow, issued a manifesto which not only acknowledged the existence of efforts to inform the American public about communism, but directed the implementation of immediate counter-measures. Here is one quote from the manifesto: "To effectively defend the interests of the working people, maintain peace and realize the socialist ideals of the working class, it is indispensable to wage a resolute struggle against anti-communism--that poisoned weapon which the bourgeoisie uses to fence off the masses from socialism . . ."

The nature of the countermeasures was subsequently revealed in the writings of Gus Hall, Secretary General of the Communist Party USA. Since the military services were, by virtue of the 1958 National Security Council directive, supporting the anti-communist educational movements, the focus of the attack was to be on our military establishments. Indeed, Hall stated that the primary target is the military and its anti-communist statements and seminars. This attack was camouflaged behind a fabricated controversy over civilian versus military control of policy. Simultaneously, all groups emerging in anti-communist educational activities, of whatever shade of responsibility,

along with the military, were to be smeared as 'ultra-right,' "neo-fascists," or "Birchites." The attack was launched.

In fact, articles in THE WORKER, official publication of the Communist Party USA, have stated that an alliance, into which even the Kennedy Administration must be brought, must be forged against anti-communists. An editorial in the December, 1961, issue of POLITICAL AFFAIRS, another party publication, refers back to Gus Hall's suggested alliance and gloats over the success attained in pressuring the Administration into the attack on the "ultra-rightists." Here is one quote from POLITICAL AFFAIRS.

"The President's speeches were occasioned by the widespread concern in the country over the growing menace of the war-bent Ultra-Right forces. Many leaders, organizations and periodicals--reflecting opinion in broad public and religious circles--expressed real concern over the fascist menace . . ."

The same publications in this country which picked up THE WORKER-originated line against anti-communists last summer have continued to blast away with innuendos and invectives which imply--some state directly--that anti-communists constitute a graver threat to our country than do communists. Some of the publications following this line have been THE NEW YORK TIMES, THE WASHINGTON POST (and lately its subsidiary, NEWSWEEK), THE NATION, THE REPORTER, and THE BULLETIN OF ATOMIC SCIENTISTS. Even Norman Thomas, the long-time socialist leader in this country, has published two attacks on anti-communism.

All of these events, from the Moscow meeting in December, through the original articles in THE WORKER and on to the use of the line in non-communist publications, have been carefully and expertly documented in sworn testimony of Edward Hunter unanimously released by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on August 27, 1961.

In the next article in this series, the so-called Fulbright Memorandum, which recommended increased censorship of the military and kicked off a series of 17 speeches in the Senate by me, will be discussed.

-THE END-



UNVEILING OF FULBRIGHT MEMORANDUM KICKS OFF COUNTER OFFENSE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-29-2004 BY

BY U. S. SENATOR STROM THURMOND (D-SC)

On the morning of July 21, 1961, I read <sup>the</sup> articles in The Washington Post and the New York Times which reported that a secret memorandum had been sent from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to the President and the Secretary of Defense on the subject of military anti-communist statements and seminars. I was shocked to read some of the quoted excerpts from this memorandum and was even more amazed that such a communication on the armed services would be secretly sent from the Foreign Relations Committee. Immediately I tried to obtain a copy of the memorandum. I was informed that it was not a committee document but was prepared by the Chairman of the committee as an expression of his own views.

Being unable to obtain a copy of this document, especially as a member of the Armed Services Committee, I began a series of speeches in the Senate on the basis of the information which had been made available to the reporters.

Subsequently, I obtained a copy of a document which I described as conforming in minute detail to the excerpts from the Post and Times articles. I inserted this document into the Congressional Record. Late in the day the Senator from Arkansas placed his full memorandum in the Record. When this had been done, the press and the public began awakening to the intensity of the campaign to quiet anti-communists. A flood of mail protesting the memorandum and other actions then began descending on Capitol Hill.

The mail continued to come by the thousands. In fact, in a two-month period a few hundred thousand communications--mine running almost 1,000 to 1 for an investigation--were received on The Hill. The tenor of the communications indicated without question that the vast majority of these people were writing spontaneously and out of a deep sense of concern. These communications from so many Americans in every State and from every segment of society constituted an effective expression of American grass-roots sentiment and played an important part in finally winning approval on September 21, 1961, of the investigation into muzzling the military.

The Fulbright memorandum was lengthy and contained many inaccuracies (even spelling and typing mistakes) and made many sweeping allegations.

It expressed the alarming view that rather than needing to be alerted to the cold war menace, the American people needed to be restrained in their desire "to hit the communists with everything we've got, particularly if there are more Cubas and Laos." The memorandum gave the general impression that the people could not be trusted to determine properly their country's course in the cold war.

In the memorandum were several far-reaching recommendations which in essence were: (1) consider repeal or modification of the directive authorizing cold war seminars, (2) increase censorship through general directives under the "broad principle of civilian control" which was viewed as being difficult to disagree with, (3) study the idea of increased civilian control over the National War College; (4) re-examine the relationships between private foundations supporting seminars and the National War College for elimination of aggressive views, (5) study the possibility of graduate studies at universities as a condition to high military ranks, and; (6) study the possibility of bringing unit level troop education activities under civilian control and operation.

This memorandum should be studied by every American, particularly any who still have the misapprehension that this fight is merely one of civilian control over the military. Military leaders are subject to civilian control. In fact, a recent check shows that civilians outnumber the military almost 3-1 in the Pentagon and related control agencies in Washington. There has never been an attempt by an officer or group of officers to seize control of this government. I know of no officer even remotely interested in such a fantastic idea. In fact, the only place I have seen mention of this has been in The Worker and publications parroting the line against anti-communism.

In the next article of this series, I will discuss actions of the Defense Department to suppress anti-communist statements and seminars.

THE END

Muzzling the Military

Fifth in a series of eight articles

ANTI-RED FILMS BANNED, SEMINARS CANCELLED

By U. S. Senator Strom Thurmond (D-SC)

Many indications of determination to muzzle military personnel and encumber their effectiveness against communism have been manifested in Department of Defense actions during 1961.

As far back as March 10, 1961, a Defense Department memorandum prohibited the use of the film "Operation Abolition" by the services in training military personnel, restricting it to an "on call" basis. This film is a documentary of actual communist-led rioting against the House Un-American Activities Committee in San Francisco in May, 1960.

I witnessed this despicable rioting by communist-duped students and teachers. I saw a known communist, Archie Brown, inciting students into irrational actions. J. Edgar Hoover has vouched for the fact that the riots were communist-inspired and led. The House Un-American Activities Committee has recently published a document entitled "The Truth About the Film 'Operation Abolition'" in answer to attacks by THE WORKER and by many leftist groups and publications.

The March 10 directive countermanded an Army directive of October 11, 1960, prescribing that "Operation Abolition" be "utilized in the troop information program to the maximum extent possible." A subsequent order issued on May 19, 1961, further restricted the film to an "on-call basis for internal use only."

Some officers did not realize that the technical language used to ban the film was really a way of saying that the film was "strictly taboo." On June 14, 1961, two officers in Seattle were reprimanded and relieved of duty for allowing the film to be shown. The film was requested to be shown by reserve officers attending a collateral training drill period.

In addition to "Operation Abolition," other effective anti-communist films have been banned or shelved. In place of these anti-communist films, the Department of Defense substituted what I have describe as a "namby-pamby, gutless" film, "Challenge of Ideas." This film

conveys the false impression that military aggression is the only threat posed by communism and that we don't oppose communism itself.

More evidence of success of the campaign to gag anti-communism can be found in directives dated July 10, 1961, and October 5, 1961. The former is pregnant with censorship powers for Arthur Sylvester, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs. The other puts military officers on notice that they speak on the subject of communism at risk of grave peril to their military careers. In effect, it has all but ruled out military participation in anti-communist seminars and has even scared off some retired officers who have caught the true import of the directive.

Actions taken either directly or indirectly by the Defense Department resulted in the cancelling or postponement in Louisiana, Indiana, Illinois, Virginia and the Canal Zone of several planned seminars and discouragement of others in the embryonic stage.

The sum total of all actions taken against anti-communist statements and seminars, more of which will be discussed in subsequent articles, strikes at the very heart of what should be our principal strength in the war against the godless ideology of communism. This strength is the morale of both the Armed Services personnel and the civilian American public. Without good morale, the will to win, and the belief in our ability to win, the protracted conflict with communism cannot be resolved in our favor.

In the next article I shall discuss inadequate troop information and education programs to teach the troops about the enemy and his brainwashing techniques which worked so effectively in Korea because our men were ill-prepared.

-THE END-

RED BRAINWASHING IGNORED IN TEACHING TROOPS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-29-2004 BY [REDACTED]

BY U. S. SENATOR STROM THURMOND (D-SC)

No one gets any pleasure out of recalling the successes scored by the communists in Korea by brainwashing POWs and promoting "bugouts" by GIs who had not been sufficiently impressed with the nature of the enemy, American ideals, or why it was necessary to fight in that far-off, rough and cold terrain. We realize that we cannot, and must not, recriminate against those individuals who were so unfortunate as to succumb to the skillful techniques employed against them while they were prisoners in Korea. The fault lies not just with these individuals, but with our system of training, and indeed, with our society's relaxed emphasis on absolute values over a period of many years.

When in 1955 the studies of our Korean War experiences were completed and the Serviceman's Code of Conduct was promulgated, it was assumed that our defense establishment would follow through and insure the maintenance of a program of information and education which would remedy the glaring deficiencies of the Korean War. It is now clear that no such comprehensive and effective program has been maintained. Indeed, there are indications from numerous sources that those weaknesses still prevail, and in many cases, are even more pronounced than they were 8 to 11 years ago.

An Air Force officer who served on the Advisory Committee on Prisoners of War for the Secretary of Defense has expressed this concern over inaction on the committee's recommendations: "Once the documents were signed and proclaimed, they were filed away, then that was the end of them. I never thought it possible. The program that was to restore American stamina and teach our forces to understand the wiles of communism has been sabotaged."

There is no indication that any serious effort has been made to

impress commanders at all levels with either the necessity for maintaining TI&E programs, with the needs of service personnel for training in our system of government and the nature of the communist menace. There has been little, if any, emphasis on the most imperative need, a strong sense of individual responsibility.

My studies have revealed only slight efforts to acquaint troop commanders with the materials and devices available for use in conducting TI&E programs. From a review of TI&E materials made available, one cannot escape the conclusion that the Defense Department has been reticent in facing up to the problem of brainwashing techniques. In fact, it is easy to conclude that the word "brainwashing" is consciously avoided.

In a recent speech, Vice Admiral Robert B. Pirie gave good evidence on the job that needs to be done on TI&E programs with these remarks: "Here are some statistics about the present day enlisted recruits revealed by a recent Marine Corps survey, a survey of the highly motivated type of young American who volunteers for the rigors of Marine Corps recruit training. Only half of the boys recruited can make a rational explanation of the meaning of the fourth of July. Only a pitiful small number of them can make an intelligent discrimination among the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence. In fact, only one out of three knows which came first, the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution. Only one in ten can give a reasonable comparison between the basic characteristics of communism and the opposite concepts of our free system of government."

With Defense Department leadership giving the impression of discouraging efforts to alert the American public and troops on the many facets of the communist threat it is easy to understand why our TI&E programs are mostly impotent and are rarely pursued by commanders with vigor and effectiveness. After all, the TI&E programs are diluted by such actions of censorship and suppression and by the official reluctance to face up squarely to our proven vulnerability to brainwashing techniques and gullibility to communist propaganda.

Next, I shall discuss censorship of military speeches and articles.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-29-2004 BY [REDACTED]

By U. S. Senator Strom Thurmond (D-SC)

Censorship is a serious matter which is antagonistic to the American concept of society. Even in the area where security requirements make some of it essential, the greatest care must be taken that the censorship not be capricious or excessive. It is also necessary for military personnel to refrain from speaking in official statements contrary to foreign policy, against national policy, and engaging in partisan political matters.

It is essential that "foreign policy" not be so broadly interpreted in applying censorship as to prevent statements being made on any subject which, regardless of by whom made, might conceivably influence a person in his thinking on foreign peoples or nations or our relations with them. Such an interpretation leads to a complete gag.

Certainly our military leaders should not be prohibited from speaking on the subject of communism. J. Edgar Hoover says that communism should not be a controversial subject. In fact, he has repeatedly warned that we need to know more about communism. Our military people should know the enemy better than any other group, for it is most essential to their profession.

During the past year there has developed an increasingly strict pattern of censorship of all statements of military personnel. The following are examples of the type statements deleted from proposed speeches:

1. Communist conspiracy directed toward absolute domination of the world . . .
2. Soviet infiltration menacing this nation and extending throughout far corners of the globe . . .
3. The steady advance of communism . . .
4. The communist challenge . . .
5. Insidious ideology of world communism . . .
6. Nothing has happened to indicate that the goals of international communism have changed . . .

This pattern of censoring out penetrating phrases on communism is relatively consistent wherever such material is submitted and is performed usually by State Department personnel. There appears to be complete consistency in the deletion of any use of the words "victory"

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or "war." Indeed, these are carried to rather ridiculous extremes. In a speech of a technical nature, an officer proposed to use the following sentence: "The X-15 is the 'Man of War' of the stable of research aircraft today." The phrase was deleted, and the censor wrote in the margin: "Let's use another steed--Zev, Gallant Fox, etc., but not this one."

These are a few indications of our secret no-win strategy for fighting the cold war.

Mr. Khrushchev comes in for special "kid glove" treatment by the State Department. A mention of Mr. Khrushchev banging his shoe on the table in the UN was blue-penciled. Also censored was his oft-quoted remark that "we will bury you." The censor wrote in: "He has denied that he meant this literally."

In appearances before Congress, military personnel must be permitted to speak without restrictions. I have found, however, that a high-ranking officer's remarks were heavily censored in giving testimony to the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Similar censorship has taken place in service journals which disclaim any connection with national policy and which require free exchange of ideas to promote professional proficiency. Even articles by civilians outside the defense establishment who contribute articles are censored.

The Defense Department's answer to criticism of such censorship is that extra care is needed during periods of "sensitive negotiations." In a speech on September 18, I analyzed censored items and dates and refuted this contention by showing that such items were deleted fairly consistently during the year, particularly when we were not negotiating with the communists.

Such a policy should be exposed and changed. It reflects an abysmal ignorance of communism and communist methods. Communist tactics do not change or react according to the words spoken by our own people or leaders. If it suits the communist purpose to negotiate--and they have been much more successful in this area than we have--they will negotiate even if we spit in their faces. If they do not intend to negotiate, no sweet words from Western officialdom will induce them to negotiate. The communists react only to raw power, never to words.

THE END



IN CONCLUSION: WHY NOT GIVE THE PEOPLE THE FACTS ABOUT COMMUNISM?

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 12-29-2004 BY [REDACTED]

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BY U.S. SENATOR STROM THURMOND (D-SC)

The instances of censorship of speeches and service journals, inadequacies of troop information and education programs, and discouragements of cold war seminars, if examined in the context of the single, specific instance, might in many cases appear to have no far-reaching consequences. The sum total of all these, however, builds up to a definite pattern. When considered in its entirety, this matter goes to the heart of our ability to survive as a nation against the threat of international communism.

Make no mistake, it is communism which is our enemy. Its threat has many facets--military, political, economic, psychological, diplomatic, subversive. Its aim is domination of the world under a totalitarian rule which will seek to reduce all people to one level, pegged to the lowest common denominator. Communism recognizes no god except materialism and the worship of man. Even man, however, has been relegated to the status of an animal. To the dedicated communist, everything was formed by accident, not by divine design of a Supreme Being.

In less than half a century a small band of dedicated communists has extended its control from Petrograd to many parts of the world. They now control 26 per cent of the world's land mass and 36 per cent of the world's population. Since World War II, 15 countries and 900,000 people have gone behind the Iron Curtain. This enemy is in dead earnest. How much more proof do we need?

If Mr. Khrushchev were asked what has helped the communists most in their thus far successful drive to communize the world, no doubt he would answer: American apathy, lack of knowledge of our operations and goals, and--above all--refusal to believe that we mean what we have said and written for years.

World communism has made its biggest gains through use of the powerful art of psychological warfare and propaganda. Unfortunately, many Americans have bought the Soviet line that since we can't beat

them we should join their world revolution. Too many times we have fallen for the Red line and later translated it into our own national policies.

In a recent appearance on "Meet the Press," former CIA Director Allen Dulles warned that too often the Soviet line had been picked up and parroted by various of the news media in this country. Mr. Dulles, by the way, is no conservative, no extreme right-winger or fanatic.

The communist line against anti-communism in America specifically had its origin in Moscow in the Communist Manifesto of December 5, 1960. In part this manifesto stated: "To effectively defend the interests of the working people, maintain peace and realize the Socialist ideals of the working class, it is indispensable to wage a resolute struggle against anti-communism--that poisoned weapon which the bourgeoisie uses to fence off the masses from socialism."

Gus Hall, secretary-general of the Communist Party USA, took his cue from this meeting. He laid down the line of attack against military anti-communist statements and seminars in a policy statement in The Worker. In a subsequent interpretative article, a communist writer said Hall meant that an alliance must be formed against the anti-communists, into which even the Kennedy Administration must be brought.

Another communist publication, Political Affairs, in its December issue, gloats that the party has pressured the Administration into attacks on the "ultra-rightists," in which description they include the "military-industrial complex."

These are facts--facts that the American people must have, regardless of where the chips may fall. Censorship and suppression shield behind a smokescreen of civilian control policies on which the American people have too few facts. If these policies--among them the no-win strategy and democratic socialism--cannot stand the spotlight of public attention and discussion, then they should be rejected.

The investigation into muzzling our military leaders will be a good one which will serve the best interests of the American people. As the assigned advocate on the subcommittee in this investigation, I shall be fair, factual, but unrelenting. I hope every American will follow these hearings with interest and objectivity.

UNITED STATES GOVt

*Memorandum*ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

DATE 1-11-62

TO Mr. DeLoach

FROM M. A. Jones

SUBJECT SENATOR STROM THURMOND'S  
SERIES OF ARTICLES ON  
MUZZLING THE MILITARYTolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Wick \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_b6  
b7c

By form cover letter of 1-5-61, Senator STROM Thurmond forwarded to Mr. DeLoach a series of 8 articles prepared by Senator Thurmond captioned "Muzzling the Military." It appears the material, as explained in the cover letter, was prepared to be published under the Senator's by-line for the purpose of giving the public a better understanding of the background incidental to the hearings which are to be held, beginning January 23, 1962, on the Defense Department's policy of curtailing speeches and seminars by members of the military. The second series on page 1 refers to a statement by the Director in "Masters of Deceit" relating to the necessity for knowledge of the aims and purposes of the communist menace. On page 1 of the fifth article, in discussing the film, "Operation Abolition," the use of which was prohibited by the Defense Department in March, 1961, Thurmond states that the Director has vouched for the fact that the May, 1960, San Francisco riots were communist-inspired and led. On page 1 of the seventh article, he also refers to the Director as stating that we need to know more about communism.

The above references were the only ones about the FBI or the Director and were used by Thurmond to buttress his arguments in favor of the Armed Forces informing their members about the menace of communism.

INFORMATION IN BUFILES:

You will recall that Senator John C. Stennis, Democrat from Mississippi, is to be the Chairman of the Special Preparedness Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee and begins hearings on January 23, 1962. Memoranda have recently been submitted in connection with his request to see the Director, as well as background dealing with the controversy over the Pentagon policy of muzzling military men who want to speak out against communism. A review of the 8 articles by Thurmond does not contain any information in addition to that which has already come to the attention of the Bureau and has been set out previously in other memoranda on this subject.

REC-134

RECOMMENDATION:

As it appears Senator Thurmond's material was prepared for the news media and was forwarded by form cover letter to Assistant Director DeLoach, it is felt no formal acknowledgment be made to him.

1 - Mr. DeLoach  
JMM:tmf (4)

PERS. RECORD

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

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TO The Director

DATE

FROM N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT The Congressional Record

Pages 580-583. Senator Tower, (R) Texas, requested to have printed in the Record a series of articles written by Senator Thurmond, (D) South Carolina, on the subject of Rescuing the Military. Mr. Thurmond states in one of the articles "Military power, although essential, cannot alone meet the Communist assault. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, FBI Director and author of 'Masters of Deceit,' has stated: 'We cannot hope to successfully meet the Communist menace unless there is a wide knowledge and understanding of its aims and designs.' Implicit in Mr. Hoover's statement is the realization that there is no wide knowledge and understanding of Communist aims and designs. He goes on to point out in another article "Certainly our military leaders should not be prohibited from speaking on the subject of communism. J. Edgar Hoover says that communism should not be a controversial subject. In fact, he has repeatedly warned that we need to know more about communism. Our military people should know the enemy better than any other group, for it is most essential to their protection."

②  
\* STRONG THURMOND

REC-7

EX-105

162-52026 54  
NOT RECORDED  
126 FEB 8 1962

ORIGINAL FILED IN 66-1731-2 61

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 1-23-62 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

71 FEB 20 1962

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

TO The Director

DATE

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FROM N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT The Congressional Record

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Original filed in 66-1731-2073

STPcm

Pages 1464-1467. Senator Goldwater, (R) Arizona, requested to have printed in the Record a speech entitled "The White Is Ours" delivered by Senator Thurmond, (D) South Carolina, before the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies in Washington, D. C., on February 1, 1962. Mr. Thurmond stated "I am speaking in harsh terms tonight about the international Communist conspiracy because I—thank goodness—am not gagged and bound by State Department and Defense Department censorship policies." He goes on to state "I am sure that you people have today realized as well that a Communist front can be even more dangerous to our interests than an open and easily identifiable Communist Party. It is true that Mr. Hoover and his agents are primarily responsible for this task—and they are doing a good job—but vigilance is everyone's responsibility."

EX-108

REC-26 62-52026-55

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 2-5-62 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

NOT RECORDED  
184 FEB 16 1962

67 FEB 23 1962

FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (62-new)

Agency [REDACTED]

Date [REDACTED]

From [REDACTED]

By [REDACTED]

THREAT TO PICKET HEINTISH-WALKER  
DRUG STORE, 139 WEST MAIN STREET,  
SPARTANBURG, S. C., 3/8/62,  
RELATIVE TO VISIT OF U. S. SENATOR  
J. STROM THURMOND, STATE OF SOUTH  
CAROLINA, TO SPARTANBURG, S. C., 3/16/62  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Enclosed for the Bureau are 8 copies of letterhead  
memorandum. Information reflected therein was furnished to  
SA [REDACTED] Contact with military intelligence was  
handled by SA [REDACTED]

For information of Bureau local Spartanburg, S. C.,  
directories reflect there is a [REDACTED] employed by  
[REDACTED] who resides [REDACTED] and  
has no telephone listed. There is no [REDACTED] listed in  
telephone or city directories, Spartanburg. Charlotte indices  
contain no record identifiable with [REDACTED]

Copies of letterhead memorandum disseminated locally  
to military intelligence, and the Bureau will be advised of any  
developments.

③ - Bureau (Encl. 8)  
3 - Charlotte (2 - 62-new)  
(1 - 100-9458 - John Birch Society)

REC-41

MAR 9 1962

RLK:jho  
(6)

MAR 16 1962

Approved

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina  
March 8, 1962

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

RE: THREAT TO PICKET HEINTISH-WALKER  
DRUG STORE, 139 WEST MAIN STREET,  
SPARTANBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA,  
MARCH 8, 1962, RELATIVE TO VISIT  
OF U. S. SENATOR J. STROM THURMOND,  
STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA, TO  
SPARTANBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA,  
MARCH 16, 1962  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

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On March 7, 1962 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] furnished the following information:

On Friday, March 16, 1962, United States Senator J. STROM THURMOND, Junior Senator from the State of South Carolina, will be presented the Sertoma Freedom Award by Sertoma Club in Spartanburg, South Carolina. Publicity has indicated the award is to be given to Senator THURMOND because of his relentless crusade against Communism.

Senator THURMOND, in accepting the award, has stated he will make an address that will be national and international in scope, and that many residents of Spartanburg will be interested in what he has to say. As a result, the luncheon will be open to the public, and tickets to the event are being sold beginning on Thursday, March 8, 1962.

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[REDACTED] said that newspaper publicity in Spartanburg on the morning of March 7, 1962, listed the information that tickets to this luncheon would be available at Heintish-Walker Drug Store in Spartanburg.

62-52026-56

ENCLOSURE

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On the late afternoon of March 7, 1962, [redacted] received a local telephone call from a man who identified himself as [redacted] that he did not have a telephone, but he could be reached by telephone by calling his friend. [redacted]

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[redacted] informed [redacted] that Senator THURMOND was a member of the John Birch Society, and he had made speeches in the far West during the past month or two, on behalf of, and favorable towards, the John Birch Society. [redacted] said "they" did not approve of Senator THURMOND's speech in Spartanburg, and as a result "they" would begin to picket Heintish-Walker Drug Store immediately when the tickets for the event would go on sale.

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[redacted] only identified one other man as a person who would picket the drug store and that person was his friend [redacted]

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[redacted] asked when the tickets would go on sale, and [redacted] informed him the tickets would be placed on sale on Thursday morning, March 8, 1962.

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[redacted] said he and his friends would be present to picket the drug store at the time tickets went on sale.

[redacted] did not make any statement that the actual luncheon and speech on March 16, 1962, would be picketed, but [redacted] assumed that should "they" picket the drug store where tickets to the event would be sold, the pickets would thereafter picket the speech and public appearance of Senator THURMOND.

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[redacted] advised that the forgoing information had been furnished to the Spartanburg, South Carolina, Police Department.

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On March 8, 1962, [redacted] Detective Division, Spartanburg, South Carolina, advised that Spartanburg, South Carolina, telephone number [redacted] is presently listed to

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[redacted] and that contact with her had determined that neither she nor her husband has any knowledge of the aforementioned telephone call to the Heintish-Walker Drug Store from a person identifying himself as [redacted]. Detective [redacted] advised that as of 10:30 A.M., March 8, 1962, no picketing had started at the Heintish-Walker Drug Store, and to his knowledge there is no unusual activity there or in the vicinity.

On the morning of March 8, 1962, Mr. JOHN R. YATES, Special Agent in Charge, 111th Intelligence Corps Group, Charlotte, North Carolina, was advised of the foregoing information.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

b6  
b7C

Honorable Strom Thurmond  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

I received your note of February 20th,  
with enclosure.

I feel sure you will understand the reasons for the policy set forth above and why we are unable to be of assistance in this instance. I am returning the item you sent with your communication.

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 20  
FEB 23 1962  
COMM-FBI

**Enclosure**

NOTE: Next page.

JH:ncr (5)

MAIL ROOM ☐  
2-1962

TELETYPE UNIT

RECEIVED-DIRECTOR

FEB 28 1968 XEROX

1. son \_\_\_\_\_  
 2. mont \_\_\_\_\_  
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 11. ve \_\_\_\_\_  
 12. otter \_\_\_\_\_  
 13. le Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 14. ram \_\_\_\_\_  
 15. ndv \_\_\_\_\_

NOTE: [redacted] cannot be identified in Bufiles. Bufiles indicate we have had cordial relations with Senator Thurmond (Democrat - South Carolina) dating back to 1938 when he was Judge of the South Carolina Circuit Court. We have had a great amount of correspondence with him. Recently he has been involved in hearings concerning alleged muzzling of the military and has appeared anxious to obtain as much publicity as possible on this issue. It has been observed that our dealings with him should be cautious so as to avoid drawing the Bureau into this controversy. The International Services of Information Foundation, Inc., (ISI) was formed in 1946, has headquarters at Baltimore and an office at Elizabeth, New Jersey. It was headed by Ulius Louis Amoss, a former colonel in the Air Force until his death in November, 1961. [redacted] [redacted] now runs the organization and [redacted] of its publication, "Inform." A number of former military officers are listed as officers of ISI and according to one official they solicit contributions to finance the organization's activities and receive 25% of the funds they collect. The organization is a private intelligence agency which appears to rehash old data with a sensational slant. Amoss formerly was connected with the Office of Strategic Services and [redacted] The latter group described him as a "flop and fabricator." SAC Letter 61-31 dated 6-6-61 cautioned the field that they should afford no assistance to members of ISI but should accept any information volunteered.

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b2

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY

United States Senate


February 20, 1962

Respectfully referred to

Legislative Liaison, Federal Bureau of Investi-  
gations

for such consideration as the communication  
herewith submitted may warrant, and for a report  
thereon, in duplicate to accompany return of  
inclosure

By direction of

  
Strom Thurmond

U. S. S.

GPO 16-7197-1

162-52026-  
NOT RECORDED  
191 FEB 28 1962

16 FEB 28 1962

ENCLOSURE

FEB 28 1962

ack 2-23-62  
JH/men

RESPONSE

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b7c

TRUE COPY.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

Greenwood South Carolina

February 13, 1962

The Honorable Strom Thurmond  
Senate Office Building  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Thurmond:

[REDACTED] asked me to write you concerning  
the activities of -

International Services of  
Information Foundation, Inc.  
3 West 23rd Street  
Baltimore 18, Maryland

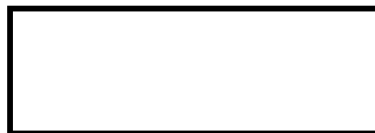
A representative calls on him quite frequently  
requesting financial assistance to keep their programs going.  
We are informed certain information obtained by this agency  
is used by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and committees  
dealing with un-American activities.

If you have any information on this foundation and  
its activities which you are at liberty to share with us, Mr. Self  
would be in a much better position to consider some contribution.

With every good wish for your continued good  
work, we are

Sincerely yours,

MVW/cc



*Copy sent by correspondent, returned*

ENCLOSURE 62-52026-  
ENCLOSURE

b6  
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b6  
b7C

UNITED STATES GO

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

TO The Director

DATE

FROM N. P. Callahan

1.7. [10-1]

SUBJECT The Congressional Record

J. Sullivan

Pages 2017-2023. Senator ~~Thurmond~~ (D) South Carolina, requested to have printed in the Record several articles and editorials dealing with the investigation by the Senate Special Preparedness Subcommittee, Armed Services Committee, regarding censorship of anti-Communist statements and speeches of military leaders. Included was an article from the Chicago Tribune of January 25, 1962, entitled "Favored Deletion Involves Word 'Communist'," written by Willard Edwards. This article comments on deletion of the phrase "steady advance of communism for over a century--and it still remains unchecked as no successful counterforce has been adequately developed" from a March 9, 1961, speech by Lt. Gen. Arthur G. Trudeau. The article goes on to state "The State Department censor corrected the manuscript to read, 'steady advance of Sino-Soviet communism \* \* \*' and added this comment: 'It is only the externally aggressive type (Sino-Soviet) which the United States is committed to check.' Thurmond remarked that this statement 'by some unknown subordinate in the

- 1 - Mr. Tolson - with enclosure
- 1 - Mr. Belmont - with enclosure
- 1 - Mr. Mohr - with enclosure
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach - with enclosure
- 1 - Mr. A. G. Marvell - with enclosure

OVER

ven/mem  
(9)

State Department' stated a policy that the United States was not committed to check any form of communism except the Sino-Soviet brand. 'Are we against checking the internal threat of communism which, according to J. Edgar Hoover of the FBI is very real?' he asked."

62-52026

NOT RECORDED  
196 FEB 27 1962

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 2-12-62 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

56 MAR 6 1962

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 62-52026

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 2-14-62

FROM : M. A. Jones

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY  

Tolson	_____
Belmont	✓
Mohr	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
DeLoach	_____
Evans	_____
Malone	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____

SUBJECT: SUBCOMMITTEE ON PREPAREDNESS  
SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE  
SENATOR JOHN STENNIS (D-MISS)  
CHAIRMAN

STROM THURMOND

Today's hearing got under way shortly after 2:30 p. m. with the reading into the record of a brief letter from former President Dwight D. Eisenhower. You will recall that at the opening session of this series of hearings, a letter from Mr. Eisenhower was made a part of the record in which he questioned the desirability of requiring Government officials, whether military or civilian, to submit their proposed public statements for review. Mr. Eisenhower's current letter was in response to an inquiry by Senator Stuart Symington requesting a definition of those officials who should not be required to submit their statements for review. Mr. Eisenhower said he felt this should be applied to all top military officials, including the Joint Chiefs of Staff, as well as those top officials in appointive positions in the Defense Department and in other agencies.

In an opening statement, Senator Stennis reviewed the purpose of these hearings which would include an examination of the policies affecting censorship of the statements of military officials, the effectiveness of troop information and education programs, and the responsibility of the military in alerting its own members as well as civilians to the menace posed by communism. He stated that the use of questionnaires to question military personnel had been discontinued. He pointed out this procedure had never been authorized by ranking members of his Subcommittee; rather, it had been undertaken by a staff member who lacked proper "experience."

The witness for the afternoon, General George H. Decker, Chief of Staff, U. S. Army, read a prepared statement in which he pointed out that communism is an extremely complex subject, that members of the military should have some knowledge concerning it, but that the primary function of the military establishment is to insure the safety of the country from a military standpoint. He felt that a knowledge of communism and foreign policy was primarily the responsibility of other Government agencies. He said he had no

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Callahan
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

CJH:vc

63 FEB 28 1962

62-52026  
NOT RECORDED  
FEB 21 1962  
FEB 21 1962  
CRIME RESEARCH

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-92946

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b7c

Jones to DeLoach Memo  
Re: Subcommittee on Preparedness  
Senate Armed Services Committee

objection to having his speeches reviewed by the proper authorities, that it was not possible for him to be informed concerning every detail of our foreign policy, and he felt that such a review insured the accuracy of his speeches. He said that since he had become Chief of Staff, he had made approximately 18 speeches, and approximately 50% of these had been subjected to minor changes upon review. Personally, he felt the changes were picayune; however, he did not believe they warranted an official protest on his part. The changes which were made never prevented him from getting across the main points in his speeches.

General Decker was questioned by Senator Strom Thurmond. Thurmond wanted to know if it was United States policy that we should be concerned primarily with communism as an external threat rather than an internal threat. General Decker replied that as a military man he did not feel he could give an opinion on this matter. Thurmond pointed out he was not requesting the General's personal opinion but rather his knowledge of an official government policy. Thurmond asked the same question two more times, and the General finally replied that he knew of no policy which would lead to the conclusion suggested by Thurmond. Thurmond then wanted to know if United States policy was based on the proposition that there is a lessening of control of world-wide communism by Moscow. General Decker again replied that he knew of no such policy.

Thurmond went into specific deletions which had been made in the General's speeches, and stated he believed that the deletions constituted a very definite pattern. The General stated that he noted no such pattern. Thurmond criticized reviewing authorities noting that at one time they had made deletions for the reason that sensitive international negotiations were taking place at the time but that they made the same type of deletions at other times when no such negotiations were taking place. Thurmond also noted that in October, 1960, the Army indicated that the film, "Operation Abolition," would be widely used by the Army; however, in April, 1961, it was removed from the Army's list of training films. Thurmond wanted to know the reason for this removal, and the General stated that it had been done upon instructions of the Defense Department.

General Decker's testimony was concluded with a discussion as to what the Army is doing to prepare its soldiers for the brainwashing techniques utilized in the Korean War. He referred to figures concerning the number of "turn coats" in Korea and, after Senator Symington questioned the accuracy of these figures, the record was left open for possible correction. General Decker said he would attempt to see if other figures were available.

Senator Stennis advised that the Subcommittee would reconvene tomorrow afternoon at 2:30 for the purpose of hearing testimony from Rear

- 2 -

V



Jones to DeLoach Memo  
Re: Subcommittee on Preparedness  
Senate Armed Services Committee

Admiral William C. Mott, U. S. Navy.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

*[Handwritten initials]* *D-1.5*  
*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten checkmark]*

FBI

Date 3/20/62

REC-14

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (62-2756) (C)

THREAT TO PICKET HEINTISH-WAL  
DRUGSTORE, 139 WEST MAIN STREET  
SPARTANBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA,  
RELATIVE TO VISIT OF U. S. SENATOR  
J. STROM THURMOND, STATE OF SOUTH  
CAROLINA, TO SPARTANBURG, SOUTH  
CAROLINA, 3/16/62  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [redacted]

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau, 3/8/62.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies of  
a letterhead memo, together with newspaper publicity re  
speech of Senator THURMOND at Spartanburg, S. C., on 3/16/62.

For the information of the Bureau, [redacted]  
[redacted] have not been identified at Spartanburg,  
S. C., and original informant, [redacted] believes such  
names are fictitious.

b6  
b7C

Copies of letterhead memo disseminated locally  
to military intelligence.

In view of information in attached letterhead  
memo, no further action being taken by Charlotte.

3 - Bureau (Encls. 11)  
2 - Charlotte (62-2756)  
(100-9458)

JAM/cjs  
(5)

REC-14

62-519-51

ENCLOSURE  
ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

AGENCY [redacted]  
REQ REC'D  
DATE FORW 3-20-62  
HOW FORW  
BY [redacted]

5 MAR 22 1962

G C Wick

Approved [signature]  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent [signature] M Per [signature]

53 MAR 29 1962



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina  
March 20, 1962

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

Re: THREAT TO PICKET HEINTISH-WALKER  
DRUGSTORE, 139 WEST MAIN STREET,  
SPARTANBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA,  
MARCH 8, 1962, RELATIVE TO  
VISIT OF U. S. SENATOR J. STROM  
THURMOND, STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA,  
TO SPARTANBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA  
MARCH 16, 1962  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

On March 16, 1962, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] furnished the following information:

His drugstore was not picketed by any person during the period of March 7 to 16, 1962, when tickets were on sale at his drugstore to attend the awarding to United States Senator J. STROM THURMOND, Junior Senator from the State of South Carolina, of the Sertoma Freedom Award by Sertoma Club in Spartanburg, on March 16, 1962.

On March 16, 1962, [REDACTED] of Detective Division, Police Department, Spartanburg, South Carolina, advised there was no picketing before the luncheon award but six Wofford College, Spartanburg, South Carolina, students staged a brief protest picketing outside the arena of Spartanburg Memorial Auditorium during the luncheon and shortly after the meeting adjourned. He said their protests, lettered on placards, were directed at Senator THURMOND "as a group of liberals picketing a right wing movement." The students were identified [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and one other student. There was no violence during their very brief picketing.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

62-52026-57

TO: DIRECTOR

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (62-2756)

THREAT TO PICKET HEINTISH-WALKER  
DRUGSTORE, 139 WEST MAIN ST., SPARTANBURG,  
S. C., 3/8/62, RELATIVE TO VISIT OF U. S.  
SENATOR STROM THURMOND, STATE OF SOUTH  
CAROLINA, TO SPARTANBURG, S. C., 3/16/62  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Three sets of publicity in "The Herald", 3/17/62,  
at Spartanburg, S. C.

STROM CAME TO TOWN, RECEIVED AWARD AS 1,000 APPAUGED



**HIGHLIGHTS OF** the Friday luncheon for Sen Strom Thurmond are shown here. (At Left) Five Wofford students who picketed outside of the Memorial Auditorium. (Center Photo) Sertoma Water Brice presents the club's Freedom Award to Sen. Thurmond. (At Right) Sen. Thurmond receives a plaque from A. V. Blanton of Gaffney, who represented the many friends of the senator in Cherokee County. The plaque was provided by a group of Cherokee citizens in appreciation for "the valiant man who is defending our Freedom and American way of life."

**U. S. Must Get Tough, Says Sen. Thurmond**

In Spartanburg to receive a Sertoma Club Freedom Award Friday, Sen Strom Thurmond told a capillary crowd at Memorial Auditorium that the only way to protect U. S. freedom is to get tough with the Communists.

The senator, who has been adopted by the State Department and the home of Vietnam, said in the battle against Communism.

He also availed the present administration for allowing the Communists to lure it into a defensive position in the world.

The full text of Sen. Thurmond's speech appears on Page 6.

Sen. Thurmond was introduced by the luncheon meeting by former Mayor Neville Holcomb.

Sertoma Water Brice present.

**Six Wofford Students Stage Brief Protest**

Wofford College students staged a brief protest picketing at Memorial Auditorium Friday during a luncheon honoring Sen. Strom Thurmond.

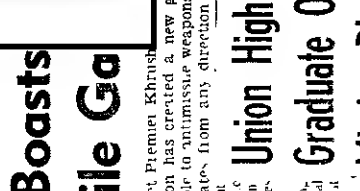
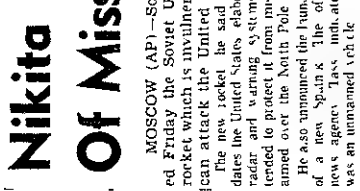
Their protests littered an plaza with a group of liberal picketing against a right wing.

**Assails Kennedy's Policies Strom Humorous, Serious At Meet**

By RUDY RIVERS  
Herald Staff Writer

Newspaper provoked humor and deadly seriousness from Sen. Strom Thurmond Friday in a brief press conference following the Freedom Award luncheon honoring the senator at Memorial Auditorium.

Questions touched on national administration, domestic problems, state politics, Republicanism and the Kennedy Administration.



# New Global Rocket Can Hit U. S. At Will, Reds Claim

**Nikita Boasts Of Missile Gain**

MOSCOW (AP)—Soviet Premier Khrushchev Friday the Soviet Union has created a new global rocket which is invulnerable to antimissile weapons and can attack the United States from any direction.

The new rocket, he said, outdates the United States Polaris missile and is invulnerable to antimissile weapons aimed over the North Pole.

He also announced the launch of a new space station. The official news agency Tass indicated it was an unnamed vehicle.

The two announcements were made at a news conference.



# Here Is Text Of Sen. Thurmond's Talk

I am pleased to have the opportunity to address this large assemblage of South Carolinians here today. Also I am particularly grateful for the high honor you have bestowed on me for my efforts to get to the American people the full facts on the only enemy we face in the cold war, the forces of world communism.

You have not been deceived or deceived by a few spoon-mongers, phone callers who have tried to thwart your plans. This is a full-throated manifestation of the tremendous support and encouragement the people in South Carolina have given me in the tough tangles I have faced and which I have yet to face as I continue to tackle the rather raw nerve of our non-foreign politics and the false conspiracy in which these policies are based in meeting the most deadly serious threat ever laid down for the American people and all others who cherish freedom.

I thank you and in doing so I also express my appreciation to the many thousands and thousands of Americans all over the Great Land who have stood behind me so staunchly in this fight.

It is a sad commentary on our way of life when advocates of determination and toughness toward our communist enemy are bound by the iron chains of censorship or are subjected to some public and official apathy or downright animosity. But the facts my friends are inescapable that such is the case in our country today.

This is a subject that is close to my heart because it concerns so vitally the future of our nation. It concerns every American as I am sure it concerns every citizen of our great State.

## State Dept. Would Have All Speak As One Voice

What the next step from military muzzling be mass muzzling?

"This is the pattern that has been followed in other countries in the past. This is also the pattern that would logically follow if we accepted the advice for anti-communism even sponsorship offered by the State and Defense Departments. They say that our military leaders should say nothing bad about the communists during periods of sensitive negotiations — and they try to maintain we are constantly negotiating — they also say we should avoid giving the communists any grist for their propaganda machine.

If we followed this warped reasoning to its logical conclusion we would have to muzzle all Americans including Members of Congress and all of the news media in order to conform to the monolithic standard laid down by the State Department, that our nation speak with one voice — evidently a soft and unrealistic voice about communism.

It seems to me that a statement in the

To show how the censorship lies in the policy directive of our government — and this one particularly referred to was formulated in the National Security Council — I sincerely pointed out to the Senate a few examples of censorship and censors committed which made news conform to the evolution policy. This was done in April 1960 and again in April 1961 and May 1961. In April 1960 an officer tried to say:

Either we remain the champions in this vicious race by carrying our full strength and rise to great heights for the benefit of all mankind or we can skulk and sink like the fearful frustrated people and go down in the ignominy of defeat. The choice is ours. The hour is late the time for decision is now.

That was what the speaker proposed to say. Here is what the censor commented by means of a penciled note in the margin. I nominate either or concept to allow possibility of evolution of Soviet system. To paraphrase the censor what he is saying is: 'Oh no. General you haven't left room for the possibility that the leopard will change his spots.' And if the General doesn't believe that the communists are possibly going to mend their ways and stop trying to enslave the world, he is out of step with our State Department and our foreign policy. And don't forget we've got to speak with one voice.

We have been sitting on our hands waiting for the communists to evolve since shortly after World War II. In that time they have become a nuclear power, and exploded a 35-megaton bomb they have leap-frogged our missile program and developed rocket engines with great thrust and missiles with brought under their domination about 15 countries and 900,000 people. Their industrial capacity has evolved but not their morals, their weapons have evolved, but their intentions and efforts are still to dominate and enslave the people of the world.

## By Any Other Name It Doesn't Smell So Sweet

In the Congressional Record there are 40 printed pages of examples of muzzling — the muzzling of our experts on military and communist strategy — the refusal to let them speak plainly about the menace we face today — changing their statements to conform to new foreign policies.

This is all set in paying patly-cake with communism.

We are not fighting Lord Fauntleroy. We are fighting the godless evil creeping clawing menace of bolshevism and by any other name it does not smell so sweet.

Few Americans should be able to understand the salient facts about the menace we face today — even the muzzle experts.

Communism is here we cannot escape it.

But we tell the communists that Korea is outside our defense perimeter.

We tell them Laos is too far away for us to do much about that the Chinese communists are apathetic reformers and nobody is mad at farmers that Castro is not a communist and that the Hungarian Freedom Fighters are great guys but they started the wrong revolution at the wrong time and in the wrong place.

"The Kremlin needs and says let's negotiate on Berlin. Khrushchev isn't satisfied with conditions there.

Aren't we ever dissatisfied? Can't the State Department ever find something we don't like?

Nahvete and later a faint heart lost to Cuba. One tank against a row of cinder blocks might have saved us from a Berlin Wall.

"Our own recent history has proved that we do not have war. Every time Russia rallies a rocket in Lebanon we moved with courage and force and we did not go to war. In fear we called the Seventh Fleet into the troubled seas and told the communists to try to climb over it. In Berlin we suffered the free world's hopes and we did not go to war.

## We Want Peace But Reds Want The World

In 1949 the United States was the most powerful nation in the world. Russia was on her knees, the Kremlin needed 3,000,000 new troops just to maintain communist discipline in Russia. Within 15 years China was gone. Eastern Europe belatedly the Far East under siege the Congo under pressure and Cuba undergoing socialization. And all the while we were trying to call off the cold war.

"The first step in creating a foreign policy with backbone in my opinion is that we quit trying to call off the cold war and face up to the realities of the war and its root cause, communism and determine to win it. Nehru tried to call off the cold war and while he was talking the communists took Tibet and stole a good chunk of his own real estate. The British tried to call off the cold war and while its Socialist Government was talking, the Empire all but vanished. The United Nations tries to call off the cold war, and the Congo heads for communism.

We want peace but peace with freedom and justice. The communists want the world if they get it. There won't be any peace for anybody including those who say they would rather be tied than dead. If we want peace at any price this is cheap and can be attained without a struggle. But peace with freedom and justice requires vigilance, toughness and a determination to fight. If necessary for it is a cheap price. Peace has many faces. It has the face of

do it any other way and be communists — and they don't want to be anything else but communists despite what anyone in our State Department or anywhere else in our government thinks.

Communism will not change. Communists are not going to become Democrats any more than the immutable turning of the earth will cease. Every President from Roosevelt on has tried to improve relations with the Soviet Union. All have tried reason. What did they gain? Khrushchev is just as tough and deceitful today as he has ever been. The subversion is just as intense. Their military aggression is just as far reaching.

## Some Officials Living No Win As Way Of Life

And what have we lost? For one thing the offensive in the cold war. For another the strength of our moral fiber in dealing with crises. And finally the respect of the Western World. The Dutch are the most recent victims of our vacillation and indecision. Portugal, Belgium and the Katanga province in the Congo are others.

We have abided by a no-win foreign policy to the point where some officials live it as a way of life and the communists know it. Our policy has been to sit back and wait for the next blow a form of conflict that has cost many a prize fighter not only a shot at the title but a hospital bill as well. We spend billions for security — we are strong — we spend \$50 million and more alone just to keep track of the communists and Soviet agents inside the United States — and yet there are many people who claim the communist menace at home is just a myth. If it is we can't afford money more myths like it.

Russia utilizes various countries. We say we can't do anything about it because the trouble is internal and these nations must settle their own dust before we can take a clear look. We paralyze our purposeful action by closing all the roads of freedom in fear of a nuclear war.

The President indicated at his news conference on February 14 that any efforts toward victory in the cold war would only lead to escalation into a nuclear holocaust. Secretary of State Rusk made a similar statement more recently. This is the type of fearful reasoning that leads us into retreat step by step, as we have been doing — but faster and faster to the point where there would be no choice except appeasement or nuclear war.

Mass muzzling creates fear and destroys freedom. Russia is the ripest example in our time of a speak nation, where the common sense of man is fear-washed and impotent of action or criticism. Fearful people live in a state of terror. Fear of a nuclear war can freeze the human mind beyond the point of adequate reasoning on the chance of such a war ever occurring. No one can deny the gross

Under Secretary of State — have nevertheless wrapped their censures and their policies in the legally questionable cloak of executive privilege better known as the executive fifth amendment.

What does the Administration have to hide in this investigation? Are they protecting the military censors in the Pentagon or making them keep silent to beat the brunt of a suspicion in order to protect the State Department and its no-win defeatist policies of paralysis? And in making this charge I do not imply any favor moves to this or any previous Administration. What I do imply — and in fact state directly and emphatically — is that their policies in meekly accepting the communist challenges hurled at us in the cold war have been based on false conceptions of communism.

"What are some of these false conceptions of communism?"

First our planners still go on believing communists can be trusted and that they want peace the kind of peace we wish when we look for the word peace in the Webster's dictionary. They evidently disbelieve the evidence of broken treaties by the Nazis, so of their 22 agreements. Also more or don't realize that to the dedicated communist peace has a different meaning. Also that the communists have only one code — employment of any means necessary to attain world domination. The communist notion of "peace" is simply that time when communists have taken over the world. Communism has been collectivized and even on the same level and oriented toward aism rather than any love of liberty, or God.

## 'Ridiculous Reasoning' By Peace Corps Chief

Second they forget or ignore the we are dealing with an internationalist movement not merely the extension of Soviet imperialism, as censor notes we us to believe. So they naively neglect the Soviets without binding the re apparatus the international movement.

"Third our planners fear world Soviet propaganda to such extent never act only react to communist moves figuring that the uncommunist are going to jump on the side of rather than power. To avoid common sense our planners dance to their tune than to our own. This is the kind of reasoning that has led to the News and World Report there is a which states the following: R. Stephen Jr., Director of the Peace Corps is turning down applicants who have had intelligence experience, either in the armed services or else where. Mr. Striver is taking no chances that communists could call his conscience into

Soon after the Under Secretary made this statement — and this has also been supported by testimony from the Assistant Secretaries of State and Defense for Public Affairs — I told the Senate about one specific policy of this government which appeals no more to me than it does to you. It is the policy which was inaugurated in 1955 and was still in effect through May of last year — I feel certain it is still policy today. This is the policy which calls for termination of the cold war by avoiding the escalation or mellowing of the Soviet system and other communist systems into peaceful satellites, rather than by attempting to win the cold war by more direct pressures and approaches



**Gunmen Get  
\$15,000 Haul  
In Bank Holdup**

**JACKSON** — Two gunmen — disguised with fake mustaches and hollywood shades — robbed the State Bank and Trust Co., here. A three state alarm failed to turn up a trace of the late model car they made their escape in.

The robbery took place at 3 45 p m during regular banking hours. A group of seven or eight customers were in the bank. How ever there was no shooting and no one was injured.

The getaway car was described as a 1961 or 1962 Chevrolet. Witnesses told police they saw two men removing a set of Georgia license tags from the car before the holdup.

Bank President James Goodman said he asked the two men if he could help them.

Well Mr Goodman we're just going to rob your bank today, he said they replied.

Spartanburg Herald, Sat, March 17, 1962—Page 5

# Boy, 4, Dies As Hand Caught In Washing Machine

**GAFFNEY** (Herald Bureau) -- A Gaffney Negro child died at the Cherokee County Memorial Hospital Friday night after catching his hand in the gear mechanism of a washing machine.

The dead child was identified by Cherokee Coroner Jack E. Milwood as Norman Anthony Fleming, 4, son of Virginia Fleming, operating to remove several damaged fingers of 524 Oakland Avenue in Galt.

Coroner Milwood said the child was playing at home Friday about 7 45 p m while the mother was washing clothes on the wringer type washer. The cap of the gen-

**Greer Votes  
\$750,000**

The mother heard the child scream and she and neighbors attempted to remove the child.



## 1,000 HEAR STROM AT AUDITORIUM

# Gaffney Teacher Of Year Named

By JIM HOLLAND JR.  
Gaffney Bureau Chief  
(AP/FNY (Herald Bureau) —  
AFS David M. Booser Gaffney  
Senior High School teacher was

McLaurin went on to say that the students showed that a majority of the students felt that large corporations should be allowed to make profits that the government should guarantee every one a job and that it would be better if the government owned businesses such as mills, petroleum companies, utilities and other large businesses.

## Mary Black Gets \$44 From Duke

For the title were Mrs. Kathryn Messersmith, Miss Doris Gault and Miss Mattie Mae Pierson.

Omie M. Mullinax was installed as president of the group for the coming year. Five new men

**PUBLIC  
RECORDS**

**REAL ESTATE**  
Thirty-eight real estate transactions totaling \$65,902 were recorded in Lincoln County Courthouse Friday as follows:  
School District 2 — Harlan, Missburg to Gearidine T. N. Missburg lot \$5 love and affection.  
School District 1 — Cufon, Cufon to West  
facturing Co to West

***Ticket Deadline Is Monday  
For Annual Chamber Meet***

**Ticket deadline for the Annual Banquet Meeting of The Chamber of Commerce of Greater Spartanburg will be noon Monday**

More than 500 tickets already have been ordered for the event which is one of the largest in the southeast each year.

Herbert A. Phillbrick, who devoted nine years as an FBI counterspy, will be the principal speaker. Subject of his talk will be Zero Hour for America.

The event will be held at

## Crusade Offers Acrobatic Team

The acrobatic team of Dicks, Shivers and Paul Russell will arrive at the Crusade for Christ Youth Rally, Saturday at 8 p.m. at the old mill store on Front Street in Saxon. There will be no admission charge for the performance of gymnastics and tumbling.

**MRS MARTHA EVANS**  
Mrs Martha J Powell Evans died  
of 300 Highland Avenue die  
General Hospital early las  
unday morning

Funeral services will be conducted Sunday at 3 p.m. from the residence of the Rev. Dr. James H. Dillard, pastor of the First Baptist Church, 1000 East Spang Road, in the city cemetery at East Spang, Minn.

The body will be at the home after 6 p.m. today.

She is survived by her mother, Mrs. Mary Ann Dillard; her father, one son and her grandfather.

**2 Policemen  
Hired**

## At Gaffney

The two new officers are Hoyt Seigler of Vernon Street who has served as a policeman

One officer was not hired at the first meeting of the new administration last week and another p

**Republicans  
Open State  
Meeting Today**

COLUMBIA (AP)—South Carolina Republicans hoping to win a U S Senate seat to two offices recently wrested from Democrats open their 1980 state convention in history on Saturday.

The nomination of  
newsman author W  
r as the party's S  
ate will be a forma  
s the only announce  
Sen Barry Goldwa  
Republican will add  
n Township Auditor

1-22-2  
the public is invited  
welcome to view the  
session  
Some 374 delegat  
equal number of all  
gates are expected  
vention opening at 1  
Delegates were inv

004 BY

## Woman Hit In Accident

A Route 6 woman was hospitalized Friday with injuries sustained in a two-vehicle crash on Baynes Boulevard. Mrs. Myrtle Owen, 40, was admitted for treatment.

ation of a left leg  
... attaches describ  
on as good  
Her husband 63 y  
Owensby was ident  
was the driver of a  
which collided with a 1963  
driven by Roberta Figure  
19 Church Street Whitney  
intersection

**BID NOTICE**

Spartanburg General Hospital will accept bids on March 21st at 10 00 o'clock A.M. for the following equipment: Remote controlled dial dictating recorder and transcriber.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

DATE 11-22-2004 BY

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO Director, FBI (62-52026)

DATE 4/20/62

FROM

SAC, Savannah (80-471) ATT: CRIME RECORDS DIVISION

SUBJECT

STROM THURMOND  
SAC Contact  
Savannah Division

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

The Bureau by letter dated 12/20/54 approved captioned individual as an SAC Contact of the Savannah Division.

As Bureau records will reflect, Mr. THURMOND is a United States Senator (South Carolina) and maintains his law office in Aiken, S. C. While Senator THURMOND continues to friendly toward the Bureau and is cooperative, he spends most of his time in Washington, D. C. making it almost impossible to contact him on a periodic basis. It is recommended, therefore, that he be discontinued as an SAC Contact of the Savannah Division and this is being done, UACB.

His name should continue to be carried on the Special Correspondents' List in order that he will receive items of interest sent persons on this list.

2 - Bureau  
2 - Savannah

JDJ/fmt

(4)

on staff Christmas list 15-10-62 mm

REC-24

EX-105

25 APR 28 1962

32 APR 23 1962

EX-105

deleted as SAC contact 4/24/62

50 MAY 15 1962

OK on 4-27-62 387 mm

CRIME RECORDS

**STROM THURMOND**

re, ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY   
**TO THE PEOPLE**

b6  
b7c

Committees Armed Services  
Interstate & Foreign Commerce

DL. VIII, NO. 22

JUNE 11, 1962

**SOCIALISM OR AMERICANISM?**

On June 5 and 7 I had the opportunity to delve deeply into U. S. foreign policy when Under Secretary of State George Ball appeared before the Special Prepared Subcommittee to explain why certain statements about communism and winning the cold war were deleted from military speeches by State Department censors. I asked Ball more than 200 questions on many aspects of foreign policy. The record of this cross examination will not be available for some time, but it will prove to be very interesting reading.

One of the many points brought out was the fact that U. S. foreign policy is committed to check only the "externally aggressive" type communism, indicating that there is no opposition to communism as an ideology or to Fabian (gradual) socialism. In other words ideological differences are unimportant. This is one of the principal reasons we are losing the cold war, particularly the battle of ideologies, which consists of the fight for the minds of men around the world. Actually, there can be no such thing as a brand of communism which is not "externally aggressive," for communism is dedicated to a world revolution and world domination by any means possible. The Senate indicated its feeling on brands of communism when it surprisingly voted 57-24 Wednesday to cut off all foreign aid to communist or Marxist-led countries.

After Mr. Ball testified that he felt Fabian socialism and 'non-aggressive' communism (the Tito type) did not constitute a threat to the U. S., I read him a quote from a book entitled New Fabian Essays. It was edited by Mr. R. H. S. Crossman, a member of the Fabian Executive Committee, and its foreword was written by Clement Atlee, former Prime Minister of Great Britain. In his comments Mr. Crossman said

"The task of socialism is neither to accelerate this Political Revolution, nor to oppose it (this would be as futile as opposition to the Industrial Revolution

DEC 10 File 5 CDS

hundred years ago), but to civilise it.

"To do this we must realise that a victory for either side would be a defeat for socialism. We are members of the Atlantic alliance, but this does not mean we are enemies of every communist revolution. We are opposed to Russian expansion, but also to an American victory. Our object is to keep the Cold War in hand, in particular, so to restrain rearmament that it remains at a level which this country can sustain over a period of years

If we construct an anti-communist ideology, or take part in organizing a campaign to inform, we shall merely intensify the Cold War and confirm the illusion that the preservation of freedom requires the defeat of communism. In fact, if freedom is to survive, it is essential that neither the U. S. A. nor the Soviet Union should win, and that ideological passion should subside "

What Mr. Crossman has done here is to state U. S. foreign policy in a nutshell, just as Mr. Ball did when he sent to our subcommittee on March 29, 1962, the following comment as to why the word "victory" was stricken from military speeches: "The word 'victory' has a militaristic and aggressive ring less suited than the substituted phrase to describing our national objectives. It also implies an 'all-or-nothing' approach leaving no room for accommodation." Since filing this report, Mr. Ball has come under considerable fire for this comment. Thus he is now trying to disown his own statement.

Persons who are oriented toward the socialist ideology do not seek victory for the US over communism because, as Mr. Crossman points out, "a victory for either side would be a defeat for socialism"

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., now a top presidential adviser, stated the case for socialism in America in 1947. After ruling out communism, capitalism, and Judaism, he made this comment: "Has non-Communist, libertarian socialism a future?"

One must answer that there is no inherent reason why democratic socialism should not be possible. . . There seems no inherent obstacle to the gradual advance of socialism in the United States through a series of New Deals. We in the United States cannot serve the cause of socialism and Americanism at the same time, for one calls for a no-win policy in the cold war, and the other demands victory over the forces which have vowed to "destroy capitalism and dethrone God."

Sincerely,

John F. Kennedy

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EX-115

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REC-9

62-52026 March 5, 1962

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

EX-116

Honorable Strom Thurmond  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

I would like to take this means to express my thanks for your causing my address, "The Courage of Free Men," to be reprinted in the March 1st "Congressional Record." This was indeed a kind gesture.

I was particularly glad to read your comments introducing the item. This generous expression of support and confidence is most gratifying, and I sincerely hope the future endeavors of this Bureau will continue to merit your approbation.

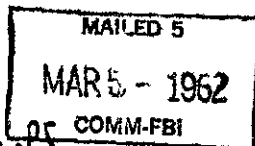
Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

- 1 - Savannah - Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. M. A. Jones - Enclosure

NOTE: Senator Thurmond is on the Special Correspondents' List.

RVA:nlb  
(5)



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Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
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Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

RICHARD B. RUSSELL, GA., CHAIRMAN  
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LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, MASS.  
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 PRESCOTT BUSH, CONN.  
 J. GLENN BEALL, MD.  
 BARRY GOLDWATER, ARIZ.

HARRY L. WINGATE, JR., CHIEF CLERK

# United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

March 5, 1962

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 11-22-2004 BY [redacted]

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover  
 Director  
 Federal Bureau of Investigation  
 Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I certainly enjoyed seeing you at Valley Forge during the Freedom Foundation meeting on George Washington's birthday. I thought your speech was superb, and it was my pleasure to have it placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for Thursday, March 1, at page 2906.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely,

*no reply*  
*Strom Thurmond*  
 Strom Thurmond

ST:st

EX-116 REC-9 62-52026-60

25 JUL 26 1962

ENCLOSURE

*John*

ADDRESS BY J EDGAR HOOVER, DI-  
RECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF  
INVESTIGATION

Mr THURMOND Mr President, on George Washington's Birthday I had the pleasure and honor as a member of the board of directors of Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, Pa, to attend ceremonies at which the Honorable J Edgar Hoover, the able Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, was presented with the George Washington Award. Freedoms Foundation is a great institution, which is doing a wonderful work to preserve freedom, and there is no question that Mr Hoover, by his diligent and capable work for so many years as Director of the FBI, has made significant contributions toward preserving freedom, which I deem to be the highest end of government. On this auspicious occasion Mr. Hoover delivered a very eloquent address, entitled "The Courage of Freemen." It closes with a profound statement admonishing all Americans to live our lives so that we may proclaim to the whole world "Individual freedom is our creed—national freedom is our heritage—world freedom is our goal." This is a wonderful thought, Mr President, and this is an outstanding address, which

Congressional Record  
March 1, 1962  
Pages 2906 and 2907

*Let to Thurmond  
3-5-62  
RHH*

62-52026-60  
ENCLOSURE

I commend to the Members of the Senate and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the body of the RECORD following these remarks.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE COURAGE OF FREEMEN

(Remarks of J Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation upon receiving the George Washington Award of Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, Pa., February 22, 1962)

I am honored to accept the George Washington Award as a manifestation of your confidence in the men and women of the FBI. My associates join me in expressing heartfelt thanks for this recognition.

This hallowed ground upon which we stand today is the most meaningful spot in all America. It is most fittingly the home of the Freedoms Foundation and its vitally important mission. You are stimulating deeper appreciation of our Nation's noble past. Due, in no small measure, to your efforts, thousands of young people in our schools and colleges are developing a better understanding and taking greater pride in the priceless gift of freedom won for us by our early patriots—men of God-given strength and determination who laid the cornerstones for this great Nation.

Today, as never before, America has need for men and women who possess the moral strength and courage of our forefathers—modern-day patriots, with pride in our country and faith in freedom, unafraid to declare to anyone in the world, "I believe in liberty. I believe in justice. I will fight, if need be, to defend the dignity of man."

Too often in recent years, patriotic symbols have been shunted aside. Our national heroes have been maligned, our history distorted. Has it become a disgrace to pledge allegiance to our flag—or to sign a loyalty oath, or pay tribute to our national anthem? Is it shameful to encourage our children to memorize the stirring words of the men of 1776? Is it becoming opprobrious to state "In God we trust" when proclaiming our love of country?

What we desperately need today is patriotism founded on a real understanding of the American ideal—a dedicated belief in our principles of freedom and a determination to perpetuate America's heritage.

The ringing words spoken in 1850 by that great patriot Daniel Webster in the Senate of the United States are as meaningful today as then:

"I was born an American, I will live an American, I shall die an American, and I intend to perform the duties incumbent upon me in that character to the end of my career."

These words epitomize the strength of our Republic—the determination of American patriots from Bunker Hill to the wall of Berlin to uphold and to defend the cause of freedom.

This historic and hallowed site of Valley Forge is a monument to the true spirit of America. On this ground 184 years ago, a battered but unbowed group of patriots, dedicated to an ideal, wrote indelibly with their life's blood a new chapter in the history of freedom. Here was born a new Nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

There must be in America a rebirth of the spirit of Valley Forge. The true strength of our Founding Fathers did not spring from materialistic ambitions—but from the deeper wellsprings of the spirit. For them, no sacrifice was too great in upholding the cause of freedom.

Our Nation today, the proper balance between the rights of the individual and those of society is being undermined by two

*SPK*

major elements—communism and organized crime—two powerful and dangerous forces. We will underrate either of these forces only at extreme peril to all we have.

Our Nation's crime problem is growing in both size and intensity. During the past decade, crime has nearly doubled across the United States. It is outpacing our population growth by more than 4 to 1.

Today, in this great land of ours, a vicious crime of violence—a murder, forcible rape or assault to kill—is committed every 3 minutes. There is a robbery every 6 minutes, a burglary every 39 seconds, and 37 cars are stolen every hour.

By far the most shocking aspect of this mounting crime problem is the role played by youth. Among youth, there are some of the most brutal, incorrigible criminals in the Nation.

Nowhere is the tragic failure of American parents more dramatically demonstrated than in police records which show that nearly one-half of the arrests for burglaries and larcenies, and almost two-thirds of the auto theft arrests each year involve persons less than 18 years old.

We are losing the battle when thousands upon thousands of our youth remain morally unfortified against the temptations of a life of crime. And we are hastening national disaster when we tolerate weaknesses in the administration of justice—weaknesses which enable repeated undeserved leniencies to be showered upon vicious young thugs, robbers, rapists, and murderers.

Teenagers who consistently defy the law must be held legally accountable for their crimes against society. They, like their adult counterparts, must learn that there is no privileged class in America.

The America we live in today must awaken to the danger. A tidal wave of lawless tyranny is now surging forth from the criminal and subversive underworlds. It breaks with abrasive effect against the foundations of our Republic. Our national conscience, our heritage of freedom, the entire cause of decency are being severely tested by these deadly enemies.

Crime has a partner in forming the common denominator of a breakdown in moral behavior, it is the influence of godless communism. The forces of communism pervert our Bill of Rights. They hide behind a protective cloak of constitutional privilege while acting to destroy our freedoms.

In the eyes of their Soviet comrades, the Communists in this country have a vital role in the march toward world enslavement. They are, by Nikita Khrushchev's own description, a "valuable" arm of the international conspiracy against God and freedom.

This deadly international conspiracy now rules more than a fourth of the earth's surface and a third of her peoples. Its tentacles reach to the very shores of America where, less than 100 miles from our coastline, the Communist dagger, clenched in the tight fist of a bearded international bandit, strikes at the heart of a desperate people and endangers the peace of this hemisphere.

In Europe, in Asia, and in our own Western Hemisphere, a steady stream of freedom-loving peoples continues to flee the Communist world of enslavement. Nowhere are we more conscious of voices clamoring to be heard than in Cuba, Hungary, East Germany, and other Communist-controlled countries where the embers of freedom continue to burn in the hearts of men, women, and children.

At this vital juncture in history, we as Americans face a critical challenge. Khrushchev, Castro, and other leaders of the Communist world have staked their futures on the belief that an army of slaves dragging their chains can overtake free Americans, some of whom they see dragging their feet. It is not enough to be against com-

munist. We must shed our complacency and aggressively meet this challenge.

Do our citizens fully appreciate what they are fighting for? This is the key question. This is the theme which you here at Freedoms Foundation have been so valiantly stressing. We are fighting—not to conquer, not to destroy, but to preserve and strengthen the integrity of free government, the dignity of man, the worth of the individual personality. We are fighting for the supremacy of law for the rights of free speech, free assembly, free press, the right to worship God.

The basic answer to communism is moral. The fight is economic, political, social, psychological, diplomatic, strategic, but, above all, it is spiritual. It is a battle of ideas, of diametrically opposite concepts of man.

When our forefathers came to these shores, they came to develop a new political principle foreign to the lands whence they came. Here, men were to be superior to governments. That is why there can be no compromise with the Communists. They are at war with the entire cause of freedom, and the sooner every American faces this fact, the stronger our position will be.

America has no place for those timid souls who urge "appeasement at any price" nor those who chant the "Better Red than Dead" slogan. We need men with a capacity for moral indignation, men of faith, men of conviction, men with the God-given strength and determination to uphold the cause of democracy.

Our freedoms were not won by defeatists—fair-weather patriots who crawl into hiding at the first sign of danger. Nor does our strength stem from the pseudo liberals of the extreme left nor the pseudo patriots of the extreme right.

The cause of freedom is not advanced by persons or organizations which make it a fetish to grant our enemies privileges that law-abiding citizens themselves do not enjoy or seek. Nor is the American tradition fostered by those self-professed experts who promote hysteria by distorting the truth and misrepresenting the facts concerning the internal enemies of the United States. We should not minimize the threat and challenge of communism for one moment. But we must guard against the hysterical and irrational approach.

Our strength lies in our firm belief in freedom and a determination to maintain our freedom with sound, informed understanding of America's ideals and principles. There still is virtue in the old-fashioned American belief in fighting for ideals, as well as against evils.

In the tradition of the early patriots, we must make our American heritage a living, dynamic, meaningful force. The men of Valley Forge knew why they were fighting. They had faith in an ideal—a faith which warmed their bodies against the bitter cold, which numbed the pain of frostbitten hands and feet, which quelled the gnawing hunger, which buoyed the spirits of an army far outnumbered.

George Washington and his valiant troops fought not for themselves alone, but for generations yet unborn. This too is our task. From our shoulders, the mantle of freedom—worn proudly for all the world to behold—must pass unstained to our children and to our children's children. No generation ever faced a more vital responsibility.

A half century ago, one of our great Presidents, Theodore Roosevelt, warned, "If we stand idly by, if we seek merely swollen, sloughful ease, and ignoble peace, if we shrink from the hard contests which men must win at hazard of their lives and at the risk of all that they hold dear, then the bolder and stronger peoples will pass us by and will win for themselves the domination of the world."

Our Nation was founded by overcoming adversity. From the time of the early patriots—the pioneers, the Civil War, World War I, the great depression, World War II—always there has been a challenge for us to meet and conquer. Greatness won through the challenge of adversity can, however, be lost through inaction and lethargy.

Our challenge lies directly before us. The course is indelibly clear. Ours is a just cause. If we have faith in humanity, if we seek God's divine guidance, if we summon the courage of our forefathers, our heritage of freedom will be preserved.

History teaches us that we must carefully tend the fires of freedom here at home—for the light of freemen will penetrate the darkness of tyranny wherever it exists in the world, bringing hope and trust in our noble cause.

We must dedicate ourselves to the principle that freedom under God is man's destiny. We must not only live our lives according to this principle but also defend it unto death with the courage of freemen.

Let us live our lives so that we may proclaim to the whole world:

"Individual freedom is our creed—national freedom is our heritage—world freedom is our goal."



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

DATE Aug [REDACTED]

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Favel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO Mr. Evans

FROM W. V. Cleveland

SUBJECT SENATOR STROM THURMOND (DEM. - S. C.)  
BUREAU TOUR BY EMPLOYEES OF HIS OFFICE

On August 22, 1962, through prior arrangements, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] all of whom are  
 employed in the office of Senator Thurmond, were afforded a tour of  
 the Bureau by SA [REDACTED] Special Investigative Division.  
 The above individuals were very much impressed with the facilities  
 of the Bureau and expressed gratification for the attention which  
 they received. During the tour they were met by Assistant Director  
 C. D. DeLoach, Crime Records Division.

REC-41

62-57021-61

18 AUG 27 1962

1 - Mr. DeLoach  
 1 - Tour Room

AWW:mls  
 (7)

56 AUG 31 1962

801-17

CORRESPONDENCE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

SAC, Savannah (80- [REDACTED])

9-25-62

b6  
b7c

Director, FBI

REC-31

J. STROM THURMOND

UNITED STATES SENATOR

SOUTH CAROLINA

RESEARCH (CORRESPONDENCE AND TOURS)

Reurlet 9-19-62.

I am aware that Senator Thurmond has been making a number of speeches on the topic of communism and has spoken favorably concerning the FBI. Although I appreciate his support, I do not think the comments during his speech in your area warrant a letter from me.

SEP 25 2 55 PM '62  
FBI  
FBI - READING ROOM

NOTE: See Morrell to DeLoach memo captioned "Senator J. Strom Thurmond, (Democrat-South Carolina)," on same date.

JH:blc (5)

MAILED 27

SEP 25 1962

COMM-FBI

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

olson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO

DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE

9/19/62

ATTN: CRIME RECORDS

FROM

SAC, SAVANNAH (80-471)

SUBJECT.

J. STROM THURMOND  
UNITED STATES SENATOR  
SOUTH CAROLINA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

SA [REDACTED] assigned Savannah Division, advised me that on 9/16/62 he heard captioned Senator speak at a Lake City, S. C. Baptist Church on program "Mission to Men" on topic "Christianity and Communism." At the outset, Senator THURMOND prefaced his remarks by stating that he would quote excerpts from speeches on subject matter by J. EDGAR HOOVER, Director, FBI, the outstanding citizen of the nation, who is a consecrated Christian, whose patriotism could not be questioned and whose integrity has been beyond reproach and accepted as such since the administration of President COOLIDGE. Throughout the speech, constant favorable remarks made with reference to the FBI and particularly to Mr. HOOVER.

b6  
b7C

It is felt that the Director might like to comment favorably to Senator THURMOND regarding these observations.

It should be noted that Senator THURMOND is a personal friend of SA [REDACTED] and has been for over 25 years, and remarked on 9/16/62, as he has done on other occasions, as to the high regards he has for the Director and the way that he has operated his organization.

b6  
b7C

2 - Bureau  
1 - Savannah

EFM:rp  
(3)

62-52026-62  
REC-31

12 SEP 26 1962

CRIME RESEARCH

to SAC Savannah  
JH/blc  
9-25-62

901-X3

morrell to DeLoach  
JH/blc  
9-25-62

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [redacted]

DATE: 9-25-62

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_

TO Mr. DeLoach

FROM D. C. Morrell *Dec/gem*SUBJECT SENATOR J. STROM THURMOND  
(DEMOCRAT-SOUTH CAROLINA)Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

SAC, Savannah, by communication of 9-19-62, advised that Senator Thurmond had spoken at a Lake City, South Carolina, Baptist Church on the topic "Christianity and Communism." He prefaced his remarks by stating he would quote the Director whom he described as the outstanding citizen of the Nation, a consecrated Christian and one whose patriotism and integrity are beyond reproach. He made constant favorable remarks concerning the FBI and Mr. Hoover throughout his speech. SA [redacted] of the Savannah Office, heard this speech and has known Senator Thurmond for over 25 years. SAC feels the Director may want to comment favorably on Senator Thurmond's remarks.

Senator Thurmond is on the Special Correspondents' List and we have had very cordial relations with him. In the last few months, Senator Thurmond has taken an antiadministration attitude toward communism, particularly in the so-called "Military Muzzling" hearings during which he supported former General Walker. General Walker, of course, did not make a good impression when he testified and Senator Thurmond's [redacted] talked to you (Mr. DeLoach) on 1-10-62, stating that the Senator was concerned because he believed some of the stigma of Walker might rub off on him. You told Dent that the Senator might want to emphasize that a calm, rational and realistic approach should be used in the fight against communism.

The Senator has advised us that he has been giving speeches on communism and has been quoting some of the Director's comments. He wanted us to know that he has not criticized the FBI but has been commendatory of the FBI and that he has attacked the State Department for malfeasance.

OBSERVATION:

Although the Senator has been cooperative, we have handled him on a very cautious basis in recent months since it was felt that he was seeking as

1 - Mr. Jones - Enclosure *2 ent 9-26-62*

JH:blc (3)

OCT 2 1962

REC-26

EX-100

10 SEP 26 1962

CORRESPONDENCE

Morrell to DeLoach memo  
Re: SENATOR J. STROM THURMOND  
9-25-62

much publicity as possible. We do not have the entire text of his speech, and since it was on the topic of communism could very well have contained a number of controversial statements. To thank him for his favorable remarks about the FBI could be construed as an endorsement of his entire speech and perhaps of his entire approach to the communist problem. It is not believed the Director would want to write Senator Thurmond a letter which could be misused.

RECOMMENDATION:

That attached communication be forwarded to the Savannah Office advising that a letter is not being written to Senator Thurmond.

✓ JH P 9/25  
GSK  
H

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [redacted]

Honorable Strom Thurmond  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

[redacted] recent phone call  
has been brought to my attention, and it was good of  
him to advise me of the desire of [redacted] The  
Breakfast Club, Chamber of Commerce, Spartanburg,  
South Carolina, to have me speak at a breakfast meeting  
of this organization.

Enclosed is a copy of a letter I have  
directed [redacted] declining his kind invitation.  
I am sorry it is not possible for me to fulfill this  
engagement but know you will understand.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosure

NOTE: We have enjoyed cordial relations with Senator Thurmond  
since 1938. He is on the Special Correspondents' List.

JCF:bsp  
(6)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

b6  
b7C

REC'D - READING ROOM  
OCT 20 2 00 PM '62  
FBI

ST-109  
OCT 20 1962

62-52026-6

OCT 29 1962

REC'D OCT 25 1962  
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REC-10

b6  
b7C

**My dear Senator:**

Assistant Director Cartha D. DeLoach has told me of having received your letter of February 5th concerning summer employment for a young man and a young woman of your acquaintance. I regret I cannot furnish you a more favorable reply, but we do not now contemplate hiring temporary employees during the coming summer months. We now have and expect to have in the months to come sufficient full-time employees to meet our needs.

If, at a later date, they are interested in permanent employment, we will be glad to consider them.

**Very best wishes,**

Sincerely yours,

**J. Edgar Hoover**

**NOTE:** The Bureau has enjoyed cordial relations with Senator Thurmond since 1938 when he was a Judge of the South Carolina Circuit Court.

RMW:gcb  
(5)

58 FEB 13 1963

FEB 1 2 52 PM '63

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

REC'D-READING ROOM  
F B I

RICHARD B. RUSSELL, GA., CHAIRMAN  
FLOYD BYRD, VA  
JOHN STENNIS, MISS.  
STUART SYMINGTON, MO.  
HENRY M. JACKSON, WASH.  
SAM J. ERVIN, JR., N.C.  
STROM THURMOND, S.C.  
CLAIR ENGLE, CALIF.  
E. L. BARTLETT, ALASKA  
HOWARD W. CANNON, NEV.  
ROBERT C. BYRD, W. VA.

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, MASS.  
MARGARET CHASE, MAINE  
PRESCOTT BUSH, CONN.  
J. GLENN BEALL, MD.  
BARRY GOLDWATER, ARIZ.  
CLIFFORD P. CASE, N.J.

# United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

February 5, 1963

HARRY L. WINGATE, JR., CHIEF CLERK

Mr. Cartha D. DeLoach  
Assistant Director  
Federal Bureau of  
Investigation  
Washington, D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

Dear Mr. LeLoach:

The intent of this letter is to make inquiry regarding what might be available in your agency in the way of summer employment this year.

I am most anxious to help in some way a young man and young lady who have sought my assistance in this connection and it is my hope that you might make available to me a vacancy or two for these young people who are exceptional in every respect.

My purpose in writing this far ahead may be understood in view of the fact that you no doubt receive hundreds of similar applications. Probably you have special requirements in filling any posts which might be available and if so I would like to be advised accordingly.

Both of these students are in need of summer work in order to help finance continuation of their education. This situation naturally encourages me to do all possible to assist them, as in addition to the monetary consideration, I feel a job experience in Washington would be rewarding in many other ways and in particular would give them a chance to observe the operation of our federal government here in Washington.

Your kind attention to and careful consideration of this request will be deeply appreciated.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

FEB 8 1963

Strom Thurmond

ST:kl



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO The Director

DATE

70 JUN 27, 1963

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

FROM N. P. Callahan

DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

b6  
b7c

SUBJECT The Congressional Record

Pages A3418-A3419. Senator Thurmond, (D) South Carolina, extended his remarks concerning the use of troops in connection with integration. He included an article written by David Lawrence entitled "Power a Dictator Would Enjoy--U. S. Brief on Using Troops in Alabama Would Open Up Vast Area of Coercion" and published in the Washington Evening Star on May 27, 1962. Mr. Lawrence stated "In recent years many of the rights and powers of the States have been usurped altogether or in part by the National Government, through Supreme Court edicts, Executive orders, and by actions of the Congress. . . . However, those who would centralize all power in Washington have been constantly chipping away at these two vital powers in the past decade. . . . In the field of law enforcement, the National Government would have usurped more power had it not been for the strong views expressed by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover against establishment of a national police force."

ORIGINAL FILED IN

67-3206-  
141 JUN 11 1963

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 6/12/63, 112-28, 17-2 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

54 JUN 13 1963

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_

TO Mr. DeLoach

DATE. 7/25/63

FROM D. C. Morrell

Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

SUBJECT SENATOR STROM THURMOND - SOUTH CAROLINA

By communication dated 7/23/63, Senator Thurmond, with whom we enjoy cordial relations, forwarded a letter received from his constituent, [REDACTED] North Augusta, South Carolina. [REDACTED] asked Thurmond if any evidence had been uncovered in South Carolina regarding the "Juke Box Racket." [REDACTED] wanted to know what was being done to combat this racket both in South Carolina and throughout the United States. It was noted that a program had been viewed concerning rackets [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

This letter was discussed with the various desks which might have some direct or indirect interest from a substantive viewpoint in both the General and Special Investigative Divisions. It was ascertained that the "juke box racket" occurs primarily when coin-operated automatic record-playing machines are placed in various centers of amusement such as candy stores, soda fountains, restaurants, etc. When the operator who placed these machines meets with either competition from others or resistance from the owner of the premises, "strong-armed" tactics and other illegal procedures are usually implemented to secure the better interest of the operator. Generally speaking, the operations of these machines can be close to the "hoodlum" element and exist in various degrees of size and importance. No specific information has come to the Bureau's attention concerning the existence of this racket in South Carolina; however, by the very nature of its operation, a "small-time hood" could possibly be operating in any small town. Therefore, to make the categorical statement that no such racket exists in South Carolina is possibly not factual.

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-5-29

With respect to what is being done to combat this racket throughout the United States, including South Carolina, we have no specific information other than the obligation and responsibility to discharge our duties whenever any of the many Federal statutes related to this racket such as antiracketeering, antitrust, labor management and relations, etc., are violated. Naturally, the FBI investigates these allegations and submits the proper reports to the Department of Justice for evaluation and handles requests for further investigation. Also, criminal intelligence

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach - Enclosure
- 1 - M. A. Jones - Enclosures
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Rosen

TP:bal (6) Bal  
2 AUG 6 1963

62 52026  
NOT RECORDED  
26 AUG 1 1963

30 1963

CORRESPONDENCE

Memorandum from Mr. Morrell to Mr. DeLoach  
Re: Senator Strom Thurmond

data particularly in connection with "Top Hoodlum Program" comes to our attention; however, no major hoodlum is known to be operating in South Carolina.

OBSERVATION:

The question raised by Senator Thurmond's constituent does not fall directly within the jurisdiction of this Bureau; however, in some instances under categories of Federal law investigated by the Bureau, this Bureau can have investigative jurisdiction or collect knowledge indicating a racket is flourishing in some area. To explain accurately the position of the Bureau in connection with this type of crime, it would appear possibly confusing to the Senator's constituent.

RECOMMENDATION:

That someone from your (Mr. DeLoach's) office contact appropriate person in Senator Thurmond's office and explain generally the Bureau's position and knowledge in regard to this type of crime. At the time of this contact the constituent's letter should be returned to the Senator.

↓  
Handled  
7/26  
J. K. Kennedy  
A. A. Starnes  
J. C. B.

Hau

G

AD

JS

December 17, 1963

Honorable Strom Thurmond  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C. 20510

My dear Senator:

I want to thank you for the extension of  
remarks which you entered into the December 13th  
issue of the "Congressional Record." Your thoughtful-  
ness is indeed appreciated.

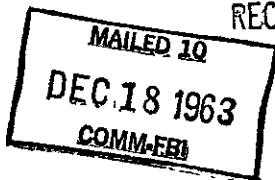
Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

1 - Savannah - Enclosure

NOTE: Senator Thurmond is on the Special Correspondents' List and  
we have had cordial correspondence and favorable relations with him.

DFC:jlw (5) *jlw*



Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
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Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

## Overdoing "Mercy" in Justice?

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

#### HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 13, 1963

Mr THURMOND Mr President, the Greenville News of Greenville, S C, dated December 11, 1963, contains an excellent editorial based on some recent comments by FBI Director J Edgar Hoover. The editorial is entitled "Overdoing 'Mercy' in Justice?" I ask unanimous consent, Mr President, to have this editorial printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### OVERDOING "MERCY" IN JUSTICE?

It goes without saying that in the American system of criminal jurisprudence the principle of tempering "justice with mercy" is fundamental.

It is part of the Christian credo of the majority of the Nation's population, of the Judeo-Christian ethic, and the ancient common law which undergirds our system of justice.

Like most Americans, we firmly believe that the accused should be given the benefit of every doubt in the weighing of the evidence and in the interpretation of the law as it applies to his case. He should be given every opportunity to appeal the verdict if there is reason to believe it is incorrect or too harsh.

We are in favor of probationary sentences, especially for youthful first offenders, and of parole for those who have demonstrated during confinement that they have repented

of their sins against God and society and are ready to make a new start.

In some instances we are in favor of higher court decisions which grant to convicted persons a new trial on purely technical grounds even though it often is fruitless or inadvisable to try the accused again.

We are among those who have grave doubts about the propriety or the deterrent effect of the death penalty in many crimes where it is now permitted by law and we are sympathetic with those who would like to see it outlawed entirely.

However, we have some rather strong reservations about all of these things, including the advisability of doing away with the death penalty entirely—unless and until provisions are made for keeping hopeless murderers and rapists confined for life, with no chance of a parole or pardon.

And we question the too liberal use of probation and parole unless and until prisons and probation supervisory staffs have the psychological and psychiatric assistance necessary to make sure a proper job of rehabilitation has been done.

Many of these feelings were expressed by Director J Edgar Hoover of the FBI in a recent speech. The address, entitled "Faith in Freedom," is all the more significant because it was delivered on an occasion when the veteran law enforcement officer was honored by the Brotherhood of the Washington Hebrew Congregation in the National Capital.

Mr Hoover said in part:

"The respect for law and order is a tragic moral sickness which attacks and attacks the American tradition of honesty, integrity and fair play. Law and order are bulwarks on which successful government must stand. Without law and order society will destroy itself."

"Fantasy and weakness have too often prevailed in the administration of justice where strength and realism are essential needs."

"There are some misguided social workers and judges who have perverted the meaning of mercy. When so-called mercy aids society's enemies it is no longer mercy. It is sheer stupidity. If not for justice, justice is needed—stern justice. Without such justice our streets—and our families—will continue to be endangered."

"Justice is not served when the innocent victim and society suffer while the vicious criminal goes free."

"Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., observed 'At the present time in this country there is more danger that criminals will escape justice than that they will be subjected to tyranny'."

Judge Learned Hand said 'Our dangers do not lie in too little tenderness to the accused. Our procedure has been always haunted by the ghost of the innocent man convicted. It is an unreal dream. What we need to fear is the archaic formalism and the watery sentiment that obstructs, delays, and defeats the prosecution of crime'."

"Justice Benjamin N. Cardozo observed 'Justice, though due to the accused, is due to the accuser also. The concept of fairness must not be strained till it is narrowed to a filament. We are to keep the balance true'."

"Let us proceed to try armed robbers as armed robbers. Let the punishment fit the crime and let us 'keep the balance true'."

"Wherever politics and opportunism remain primary consideration in the appointment of jurists, parole officials, and others charged with the administration of justice, the public should have more adequate guarantees for the immediate removal of those who prove by their unjustifiable actions that they cannot be entrusted with the important responsibilities of their offices."

"The fact is millions of free Americans are taking our good way of life for granted. They have ceased to care about our foundation stones, the rock from which we were hewn."

"Let us never forget that religion has made us who we are, given us what we have. Every good thing we enjoy as free Americans came directly or indirectly out of our belief in God."

"Our best offensive against crime, subversion, intolerance and all enemies of America's heritage of freedom is brotherhood—a brotherhood such as yours, built upon a solid foundation of mutual trust, understanding and faith in God."

Mr Hoover who belongs to a generation older than ours has lived to see the perversion of justice by legal technicalities and the outright encouragement of disrespect for law and order, especially as established by State and local laws, in the name of universal brotherhood and equality."

That along with his other words which we publish at intervals on the general subject, we of the present generation must keep in mind as we work to maintain peace and good order in an increasingly complex society."

Let to Freeman  
12-17-63  
DFC:jlw  
Let to Thurmond

Congressional Record

mond - see 67-52026-109 No 205  
- (Printed) - ENCL. 8 (December) 12 -

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

The Director

DATE *MARCH 5, 1964*

FROM *N P. Callahan*

SUBJECT The Congressional Record

*STROM*  
Pages A1078-A1079. Senator *Thurmond*, (D) South Carolina, extended his remarks concerning speeches by Communist Party members on college campuses. He pointed out that Mr. Thurman Sensing had written an article entitled "Responsibility on Campus." Mr. Thurmond included the text of the article with his remarks. Mr. Thurmond stated "I wholeheartedly endorse the comments contained in this article by Mr. Sensing. Those who are encouraging issuance of invitations to Communists to speak on college campuses generally come from the ranks of intellectual leftwingers in our colleges and universities. They maintain that they are promoting academic freedom when they invite the leaders of the Communist Party, U.S.A., to lecture on their campuses to young and immature minds—even though FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has issued his sternest of warnings lately about the Communist drive to subvert the minds and morals of our young people, especially on college campuses. Here is Mr. Hoover's answer to those who justify Communist lectures on the false notion that they are preserving academic freedom: "It is indeed ironic that Communist Party speakers whose minds and thoughts and actions are in no manner free—should demand the opportunity to parrot the Moscow line to young Americans under the guise of academic freedom. . . . As a free-flowing channel of truth and knowledge, academic freedom is not obligated to carry along the silted tributaries of lies and distortions of known Communists. ""

*No Loc.*

*1-18-64*

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REC-17

*52-2667*

*100-24338*

*12-18*  
*AR 18 1964*

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for *WED., MARCH 4, 1964* was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate *subject* case or subject matter files.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE : February 25, 1964

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: ALLEGATION THAT OSWALD  
WAS AN FBI INFORMANT

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*DeLoach*  
*Belmont*

Reference my memorandum 2/10/64 to you indicating that we had traced down the above-captioned rumor to one [redacted] by Senator Strom Thurmond, Dem.-S.C. Referenced memorandum reported the results of the interview with [redacted]. At that time, [redacted] indicated that his "sources in [redacted]" had merely presumed that Oswald was an informant for the FBI." I specifically asked [redacted] in Senator Thurmond's presence to identify these sources. He promised that he would contact the sources and then contact me again on 2/11/64 to indicate whether the sources would be willing to be interviewed or not.

When [redacted] failed to recontact me by 5:00 p.m., 2-11-64, I called him. He stated he had not yet had an opportunity to recontact his sources. He stressed that his sources had no facts but that their belief that Oswald was an informant for the FBI merely stemmed from idle deduction during a conversation. He stated that he was responsible for leading the discussion in this regard inasmuch as, based upon his extensive experiences with military intelligence, he felt that any American citizen who was given a job in the Soviet Union, allowed to marry a Soviet citizen, and allowed to bring his wife back to the United States, could only be an FBI informant. [redacted] indicated that he had no facts whatsoever to base his deductions upon, and neither did his [redacted] friends. I told him that nevertheless we would like to confront his [redacted] friends and tell them too that these so-called "deductions" were absolutely false and that this was a curtilous rumor to be spreading around. [redacted] promised to contact me within the next 3 days.

When [redacted] did not contact me by the afternoon of 2-25-64, I called him again. He first would not accept the call, but upon the occasion of my second call to him the same afternoon, he came on the phone and apologized by stating that he had been traveling for Senator Thurmond and had not had a chance to call me. We went over the same facts once again whereupon he indicated that inasmuch as his [redacted] friends had no facts whatsoever he did not want to reveal their identity. He emphasized the fact that his allegations had been strictly deductions and had no basis in fact. I told him this was a pretty poor way of doing business, particularly for a man who supposedly had been trained in intelligence operations. I let him know in no uncertain facts of the work he had caused us as well as the fact that I intended advising Senator Thurmond of the outcome

Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Sullivan  
M. A. Jones

162-52026  
NOT RECORDED  
199 MAR 5 1964

22 MAR 5 1964

SOVIET SECTION

3:amM(5) 11 1964

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-2555

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b7C  
b2

b6  
b7C  
b2

b6  
b7C  
b2

DeLoach to Mohr memo  
Re: Allegation that Oswald was an FBI Informant

of this incident. He asked if I would come up and have lunch with him sometime in the future, and I told him this did not appear to be necessary under the circumstances.

ACTION

As indicated by memorandum of 2-10-64, [ ] is a "dreamer" who uses no logic in conversation and who is extremely difficult to pin down to specifics. I doubt very seriously that he has any [ ] "friends" who have discussed these allegations or made these "deductions" with him. For this reason, I see no basis upon which we could approach [ ] and protest this matter.

For record purposes.

[ ]

is a rat.

X



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE February 7, 1964

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: ASSASSINATION OF THE PRESIDENT  
ALLEGATIONS THAT OSWALD WAS  
AN FBI INFORMANT

Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Senator Jim Eastland, Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, attempted to telephonically contact me at 4:30 p.m., 2-6-64. I was at the White House at the time in [REDACTED] office. Upon being notified, I called Senator Eastland and he asked that I see him at 5 p.m.

Stream Thompson

I called Senator Eastland off the Senate floor at approximately 5 p.m. and he stated that he wanted to talk in confidence. We then proceeded to his private office in the Senate wing of the Capitol. Jay Sourwine, Chief Counsel of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (SISS) was with the Senator. The Senator locked the door of his office and reiterated that the information he was to furnish me was to be kept in complete confidence. He then asked Sourwine to proceed with the discussion.

Sourwine prefaced his remarks by stating that the SISS did not want to do anything whatsoever that would embarrass the FBI and as a result he was tipping me off on information he had received. He stated that an extremely confidential source of his within the Department of State had advised him that Lee Harvey Oswald was a confidential informant of the FBI's. The same source also alleged that Oswald was paid \$200 per month by the FBI. Sourwine indicated that his source had alleged that [REDACTED] knew this to be a fact. Sourwine told me that he had requested that his source contact [REDACTED] and get absolute confirmation of this matter. Sourwine claimed that his source had recontacted him and had advised that a [REDACTED] employee had confirmed that Oswald was in fact an FBI informant.

162-52026-

Senator Eastland spoke up at this point. He stated that Senator Dick Russell, Chairman of the Senate Armed Forces Committee, and a member of the Presidential Commission investigating the assassination, had told him that an individual had recently testified that Oswald was an FBI informant and had received a salary of \$200 per month. Senator Eastland added that Senator Russell had also told him that it appeared that Secret Service representatives were attempting to place the blame on the FBI regarding the assassination. Senator Russell reportedly had stated that the Secret Service had clearly pointed out that the FBI had not informed the Secret Service regarding the presence of Oswald in Dallas, Texas. Senator Eastland added that Senators Dirksen,

Enclosure

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Jones

CDD:peg (1)

58 MAR 10 1964

(CONTINUED NEXT PAGE)

22 MAR 15 1964

PERS. REC. UNIT

SOVIET SECTION

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-82555-272

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DeLoach to Mohr memo

Re: Assassination of the President

Allegations that Oswald was an FBI informant

and Hruska had become somewhat exercised over this matter and that Senator Dirksen had urged that the SISS hold a special meeting to discuss the matter. Senator Eastland quoted Senator Dirksen as stating, "We should give J. Edgar Hoover every opportunity to explain about Oswald." Senator Eastland continued that pressure had also been brought upon him to subpoena the Director for a hearing in this connection. He added he also understood that an FBI Agent by the name of [redacted] allegedly handled Oswald in his informant capacity with the FBI.

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Senator Eastland stated that he wanted me to tell the Director that under no circumstances would he cause the FBI any embarrassment whatsoever. He added, however, that he felt the matter should be clarified before a "storm" broke in the newspapers and on the Hill. He pointed out that several news sources already knew of the above facts and that at least one reporter had contacted him to see what he planned to do about the matter.

Senator Eastland asked that no contacts be made with Senators Dirksen, Russell and Hruska until he had the opportunity to tell these Senators that he, Senator Eastland, had been in contact with the FBI.

I told Senator Eastland and Sourwine that we were well aware of the rumors in question and that the facts as alleged were absolutely false. I told Eastland and Sourwine that we had received the same information from Senator John Tower's office and had put the lie to it at that time. I told them that under no circumstances whatsoever was Oswald ever an informant, an employee, or connected with the FBI in any way whatsoever. I told them that their information undoubtedly came about as the result of [redacted] a former Agent, and [redacted] testifying before the Warren Commission. I mentioned that [redacted] had made false statements before the Commission and that we were prepared to prove that those statements were false.

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Senator Eastland stated he believed me, however, felt that we should have this information, particularly inasmuch as he was getting considerable pressure, and also because of the fact that he felt that Senator Dirksen might pick up the phone at any moment and call the Director about the matter.

(CONTINUED NEXT PAGE)

DeLoach to Mohr memo

Re: Assassination of the President

Allegations that Oswald was an FBI Informant

I told Senator Eastland and Sourwine that while their facts were absolutely false, I wanted to advise the Director, and I would be back in touch with them as expeditiously as possible regarding this matter. The Senator reiterated that I check with him prior to contacting Senators Russell, Dirksen and Hruska. I told him I would do this.

After notifying the Director telephonically of the above matter, I read the proposed affidavit that is to be sent to the Warren Commission. Pursuant to the Director's instructions, I will show this affidavit to Senator Eastland, and then Senators Dirksen, Hruska and Russell in that order. This will, of course, be done following delivery of the affidavit to Rankin of the Warren Commission.

I think also it might be a good idea to show this affidavit to Sourwine. At the time of further discussion with Sourwine, I will specifically ask him to identify his source within the State Department so that we may adequately run this rumor down and pin it to the ground. While I doubt that Sourwine will reveal his source, we will at least strongly go on record asking him to do this for our own protection.

I have issued instructions within the Crime Records Division to immediately prepare a public statement, under the Director's signature, in the event that the Director finds it necessary to issue such a statement so that the false rumors concerning Oswald's connections with the FBI can be promptly denied.

ACTION:

1. That I show the attached copy of the affidavit to Senator Eastland and then Senators Russell, Dirksen and Hruska, also to Sourwine, following delivery of the said affidavit to Rankin of the Warren Commission. I will also tell Senator Eastland we have no Special Agent by the [redacted] and that this allegation is also false. *OK after [redacted] has delivered affidavit to Rankin & Eastland approved signing it to the [redacted]*
2. That the Crime Records Division immediately prepared a public statement for the Director's usage in the event it is believed necessary to publicly refute the false claims that Oswald was an informant of ours.

3. That I press Sourwine to identify his source within the State Department who has given him this information.

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b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE February 10, 1964

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: ALLEGATION THAT OSWALD  
WAS AN FBI INFORMANT

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Reference my memorandum to you February 7, 1964, indicating that Jay Sourwine, Chief Counsel, Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (SISS), had indicated, following pressure being put on him, that he would contact his source of information to see if that source would talk to me relative to the above-captioned allegation. Sourwine had also indicated, and had reiterated several times, that his source had confirmed this allegation [REDACTED]

Sourwine called at approximately 2:30 PM, February 10, 1964. He advised he had contacted his source and in view of the seriousness of the situation, his source had agreed to be identified. He named his source [REDACTED] Senator Strom Thurmond (D-S.C.). Sourwine indicated that [REDACTED] had agreed to being interviewed.

I contacted [REDACTED] Senator Thurmond's office at approximately 3:15 PM February 10, 1964. [REDACTED] Senator Thurmond's [REDACTED] sat in on the interview. Both men have been very cooperative in the past. I had not previously met [REDACTED] however, understand that [REDACTED] General Trudeau in Army Intelligence and had some contacts with FBI at that time. [REDACTED] upon meeting him, and throughout the interview, gave me the definite impression of being a rather shifty-eyed individual who fashions himself a great intelligence expert. As a matter of fact, it was quite difficult to pin him down with questions inasmuch as he insisted on expounding his theories rather than sticking to specifics.

I told [REDACTED] of the information received from Sourwine and that he had been named as the source. I told him the allegation was absolutely false. The point was made that Mr. Hoover had submitted a sworn affidavit to the Warren Commission emphatically denying the allegation and that I desired [REDACTED] to read the affidavit at this time. I told him additionally that if his allegation had been made to other people, I would like to know the names of these people so that they could be confronted. He told me the only other person he had discussed the allegation with was Senator Thurmond.

- Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
  - 1 - Mr. Sullivan
  - 1 - Mr. Rosen
  - 1 - Mr. M. A. Jones

CDD:ejr (6)

NOT RECORDED  
199 MAR 5 1964

22 MAR 5 1964

SOVIET SECTION

ORIGINAL FILED IN

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Memo DeLoach to Mohr  
Re: Allegation That Oswald  
Was An FBI Informant

2/10/64

[redacted] stated he did not need to read the affidavit I handed him inasmuch as he would take the FBI's word that Oswald was not an informant. I told him regardless of his confidence he should read the affidavit. He then scanned it quite hurriedly and handed it back to me.

I told [redacted] that I would have to insist that he reveal the identity of his source [redacted]. He stated he could not do this inasmuch as his source represented "groups" or "individuals" that had been friends of his when he was [redacted]. He stated he did not like to violate their confidence. I told him he should realize that this allegation was a very serious one which could do considerable damage to the FBI if it became widely publicized. I mentioned additionally that his refusal might, of course, result in his being subpoenaed or requested to testify before the Warren Commission concerning the withholding of evidence.

[redacted] began to backtrack. He stated that his sources had merely told him that they knew the FBI had been in contact with Oswald prior to the assassination of the President. He quickly added that his sources [redacted] also felt that Oswald's activity, while in the Soviet Union, represented a State Department operation. [redacted] indicated that "if" Oswald had been an informant, while in the Soviet Union, he would have submitted reports to three U. S. employees of the American Embassy in Moscow. He named these individuals as: [redacted]. [redacted] stated that [redacted] had been declared persona non grata by the Soviet Government and told to leave the Soviet Union. [redacted] indicated that while he was still with the Army, he received a tip that the three named individuals had received reports from a double agent within the Soviet Union. He stated this double agent could have been Oswald. I asked him if he had any specifics or proof in this regard. He stated he could not prove any of these statements. He then added that this entire matter might be an assumption on the part of [redacted] inasmuch as his sources had no definite facts whatsoever.

I told [redacted] that I wanted to go back over our conversation and to be as specific as possible. I asked him point-blank if his sources [redacted] had named Oswald as an FBI informant to him. I asked him for a direct answer. He slowly replied that "groups" or "persons" [redacted] whom he had known for a long time, had told him that Oswald could have been a source of information for the FBI. He stated the same "groups" or "persons" also indicated that Oswald's residence in the Soviet Union represented a State Department operation. [redacted] added that there was a Communist Party member supposedly in Texas by the name of [redacted] who knew that Oswald had been an FBI source of information and had related this fact to other parties. I asked

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Memo DeLoach to Mohr  
Re: Allegation That Oswald  
Was An FBI Informant

2/10/64

[redacted] how he knew this. He stated he could not recall his source of information in this regard, however, apparently [redacted] had been interviewed by some one and had given them this information. I told [redacted] that his ability to be nonspecific was somewhat amazing. He told me he was well-versed in the intelligence game and knew how [redacted] the State Department operated. He stated he had no sympathy [redacted] inasmuch as that organization had quite often failed to cooperate with him when he was operating with intelligence.

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At this stage of the questioning, [redacted] again approached the melodramatic by emphatically claiming that he had been concerned only in this matter because he was afraid that the communists were promoting a deliberate smear against the FBI. I asked why he brought in the Communist Party when he had originally claimed that his information had come from [redacted]. He stated that the information furnished by the communist, [redacted] apparently represented a deliberate smear attempt on the part of the communists.

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I told [redacted] that I wanted him to think about this matter and to particularly consider the seriousness of the allegations. I told him he should give me a call by February 11, 1964, and give me a definite answer as to whether he would identify his sources of information. He agreed to do so. I told him also that regardless of whether he identifies his sources or not, we still plan to protest [redacted] the falseness and looseness of such allegations. I told [redacted] in the presence of [redacted] that he had seen me carefully making notes during our entire conversation and that I planned to hold him to the substance of those notes.

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At this point, Senator Thurmond entered the room and I advised him completely of the falseness of the allegations and exhibited to him the affidavit in question. Senator Thurmond stated he did not need to read the affidavit inasmuch as he had known the allegations were false all along. I told Senator Thurmond that I had requested [redacted] to reveal his sources of information so that the FBI could definitely disprove, once and for all, the falseness of the allegations that Oswald was an FBI informant. The Senator replied that he hoped [redacted] would comply with our request.

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ACTION:

I will follow with [redacted] re this on February 11, 1964. There is attached a yellow colored slip of paper which [redacted] handed me naming the

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Memo DeLoach to Mohr  
Re: Allegation That Oswald  
Was An FBI Informant

2/10/64

ACTION CONTINUED:

three American State Department employees who "might" have had contact with Oswald in the Soviet Union. This should be made a matter of record in our files. It is suggested that no action be taken [redacted] at this time until we find out whether or not [redacted] will identify his sources. Frankly, considering [redacted] personality and evasiveness, there is a distinct possibility that he made up this allegation strictly based upon his own theories. I will, of course, follow him closely until we get an answer as to his alleged sources of information [redacted]

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*Handwritten signatures and initials:*  
HAW  
D-1  
Keynes

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-29-2004 BY [REDACTED]

The Director

DATE

5-6-64

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N. P. Callahan

FROM

STROIN  
Pages 9758-9760. Senator Russell, (D) Georgia, placed in the Record an address delivered by Senator Thurmond, (D) South Carolina, at the Annual Law Day ceremonies at Walter F. George School of Law at Mercer University, Macon, Georgia. Mr. Thurmond commented on Communist infiltration of the civil rights movement. He stated "In testimony before the House Appropriations Committee released only last week, Federal Bureau of Investigation Director J. Edgar Hoover stated: 'Turning to the subject of Communist interest in Negro activities, the approximate 20 million Negroes in

the United States today constitute the largest and most important racial target of the Communist Party, U. S. A. The infiltration, exploitation, and control of the Negro population has long been a party goal and is one of its principal goals today. - - -"

REC-65

62-5202668  
NOT RECORDED  
12 MAY 18 1964

5010-106

M. J. [REDACTED]  
1964

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for MAY 5, 1964 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

66-17310-2514  
ORIGINAL FILED IN



July 22, 1964

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

Honorable Strom Thurmond  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C. 20510

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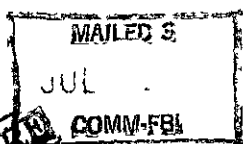
My dear Senator:

2B  
23

I have seen your extension of remarks in  
the July 20th issue of the "Congressional Record." It was  
certainly good of you to call attention to my comments  
which appeared in Victor Riesel's column, and you may  
be sure I am most appreciative of your action.

Sincerely yours,

JUL 27 3 20 PM '64  
REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI



NOTE: Senator Thurmond is on the Special Correspondents' List.

JH:kcf (4)

REC 55

ST-108

6 JUL 24 1964

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

## FBI Chief Sees No Change in Reds

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 20, 1964

Mr THURMOND Mr. President, I am pleased to call to the attention of my colleagues a most important article by FBI Director, J. Edgar Hoover, as written for the distinguished news columnist, Victor Riesel. This column, entitled "FBI Chiefs Sees No Change in Reds," was printed in the Times and Democrat, of Orangeburg, S C., on July 12, 1964.

Mr President, I ask unanimous consent to have this article printed in the Appendix to the Record together with a news story reporting on a speech I made in South Carolina on this same subject on July 11, 1964.

There being no objection, the article and speech were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

NEWS RELEASE FROM THE OFFICE OF U.S. SENATOR STROM THURMOND, DEMOCRAT, OF SOUTH CAROLINA

MONCKS CORNER, S.C., July 11—U.S. Senator STROM THURMOND tonight outlined "seven false notions about communism" which he described as being comparable to the "seven deadly sins."

The Senator discussed these points in a speech before the American Legion post in Moncks Corner. He charged that they are in large part responsible for U.S. setbacks in the war with communism.

Tabbed as "false notions about communism" were ideas (1) that the Communist leaders are changing into peaceful Socialists; (2) that the Communists can be trusted; (3) that communism is not an international conspiracy; (4) that there are good Communists, like Tito; (5) that communism feeds on poverty; (6) that the first Christians were Communists; and (7) that there is no need to fear communism in a prosperous country.

THURMOND lashed out strongly at the "false notions" that the Communists are changing and can be trusted. He said these fallacious ideas are primarily responsible for the U.S. "no win" foreign policy. "The idea our policy planners have," the Senator said, "is that we in this country can move swiftly to the left to become a Socialist state while the Soviets will move to the right and we can all get together in an international utopian Socialist order."

The Senator then cited quotations, facts, and statistics to support his position that the Communist aim of world domination has not changed. "All they change," he declared, "is their strategy and tactics—their goal of enslaving the world remains the same."

ureau of Investigation, Department of Justice

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Knowledge without common sense is very unwise. If we do not understand what we learn, then our knowledge has absolutely no power. Today we know a great deal about international communism, but do we fully understand the issue in this struggle between communism and democracy for leadership of the world? Or is it that we fully understand but have become tired of hearing the truth?

Some of our commentators and writers have recently been telling us that Russian communism is becoming more democratic, that it is moving nearer and nearer to our Western way of life, and that even the current rift between the Soviet Union and the Red Chinese is proof that we can trust the Russians—that we can deal with them on terms of mutual respect.

I wonder if we may be permitting our sincere and deep-seated longing for a peaceful world to dull our judgment? Certainly, there are many changes taking place today in the Communist world, however, these changes are primarily a rearrangement of the Communist structure to make tyranny more adaptable to the changing conditions of our era. Make no mistake, this attitude of halting every change inside the Soviet as a sure sign that democracy is flowering behind the Iron Curtain can be dangerous. While I have no argument with efforts to achieve a peaceful world, I do think it would be folly to ignore the fact that we are dealing with individuals whose goal is the destruction of legitimate governments. In our hungry desire for peace, we must guard against being deluded into sacrificing interests that are not ours to give away. Peace cannot be bought by a compromise with evil.

The real issue is freedom—a principle handed down to us by those serious-minded and dedicated men who made a reality of a dream of national sovereignty. It is our solemn obligation to transmit that freedom to posterity—not to barter it away because we may lack the stamina to sustain loyalty to principle.

I have often called attention to the intensive program of the Communist Party, U.S.A. I have cited pertinent facts which should be known to every citizen who considers himself well informed about international communism. These included the fact that 40 million Communists now rule approximately one-third of the earth's 3 billion inhabitants and a fourth of her land surface. That, like it or not, communism exists legally or illegally in more than 70 free world countries, including our own. In the United States, international communism is represented by an aggressively defiant party whose members have an unswerving allegiance to the Soviet Union. This domestic party follows the dictates of Moscow, reflecting every significant change of direction or emphasis of policy, regardless of the consequences to our country.

And I pointed out that the Communist Party, U.S.A., is currently attempting to exploit every problem of American society by stressing issues such as the racial situation, the reduction of military spending and the abolition of all internal security programs including those congressional committees investigating communism.

The Communist Party, U.S.A., is also waging a relentless campaign to woo the youth of America into its ranks. The intensity of this effort is revealed by a statement made recently by Gus Hall, top-ranking national Communist Party official. He spoke of the success the party had in placing Communist speakers on various college campuses all over the country and he said this youth program was so important that he or any other national leader would go anywhere to meet

The action already taken by the party emphasizes Hall meant what he said. Top party spokesmen, skilled in imparting the Communist line with espousals paralleling Soviet views, appeared before 45 college student groups during 1963. This drive is achieving success. Not too long ago Daniel Rubin, national youth director of the party, boasted that 85 percent of the young people attracted in the party's latest recruiting drive were students.

Our knowledge of communism must culminate in an implicit understanding that we are continually dealing with a false ideology—one that can assume many faces and one that can juggle words so that they have one sense in their premise but an entirely different sense in their conclusion. Commonsense must tell us that tyranny can take other forms than slave labor camps, firing squads, and purge trials.

And we must realize that peace cannot be purchased by a toleration of some of the excesses of communism. We must understand there can be no hope for the relaxation of the sufferings of mankind under communism except through logical thinking and action, and through a resolute facing of the world as it is, when the mask of make-believe is stripped off.

This deadly struggle will not be won by "halfway" Americans to whom life in this country is only the enjoyment of rights and privileges devoid of responsibilities. Its success may well depend on whether we are still capable of matching John Hancock's devotion to the cause of freedom. When told that lifting the siege of Boston would probably mean the complete destruction of the houses and other real estate on which his wealth was based, Hancock said: "If the liberties of our country require their being burnt to ashes—issue the order for that purpose immediately."

Congressional Record  
July 20, 1964

62-52021-69  
ENCLOSURE

August 4, 1964

REC-11

62-52026-110

Honorable Strom Thurmond  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C. 20510

My dear Senator:

I received your letter of July 31st regarding the inquiries directed to you concerning the National Council of Churches.

As you may know, the FBI does not issue clearances or nonclearances of any type and information contained in our files must be maintained as confidential pursuant to regulations of the Department of Justice. For these reasons, this Bureau has not released any data which can be used as the basis for inferring either that we have or have not 'cleared' this organization or its officials.

In response to inquiries addressed to the FBI, literature of a general nature is forwarded with our reply and I am enclosing this material for your perusal.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 25

AUG - 4 1964

COMM-FBI

1 - Mr. DeLoach  
Enclosures (4)

Faith in 'God--Our Answer to Communism  
Let's Fight Communism Sanely!  
4-1-61 LEB Introduction  
4-17-62 Internal Security Statement

NOTE: Senator Thurmond is on the Special Correspondents' List. In view of the somewhat public controversy concerning this issue in the Carolinas, this answer is deemed appropriate.

DTP:jf (6)

AUG 4 2 54 PM '64  
REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI

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64 AUG 12 1964

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

RICHARD B. RUSSELL, DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

JOHN STENNIS MISS  
HARRY FLOOD BYRD, VA  
STUART SYMINGTON, MO  
HENRY M JACKSON, WASH  
SAM J ERVIN, JR, N C  
STROM THURMOND, S C  
CLAIR ENGLE, CALIF.  
HOWARD W CANNON, NEV  
ROBERT C BYRD, W VA  
STEPHEN M YOUNG OHIO  
DANIEL K INOUE, HAWAII

LEVITT, [REDACTED] MASS  
MARGARET CHASE, H. MAINE  
J GLENN BEALL, [REDACTED]  
BARRY GOLDWATER, ARIZ  
CLIFFORD P CASE, N J

HARRY L WINGATE, JR, CHIEF CLERK

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

July 31, 1964

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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b7C

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigations  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I have had a number of letters inquiring whether you have ever endorsed the National Council of Churches or any staff members of the NCC. It has been reported to me that officials of this organization have represented you as having endorsed the organization, and my correspondents state that they have understood that you have a policy not to endorse any private organizations of this nature.

I would certainly appreciate your advising me on this matter at your earliest convenience.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

*Strom Thurmond*

Strom Thurmond

ST:dm

EXP. 30 AUG 3 1964  
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62-52026-70

1 AUG 8 1964

SCL  
Mailing List  
8/4/64 ae  
Change Noted

CORRESPONDENCE

ack 8-4-64  
BTP: [signature]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [redacted]

September 21, 1964

REC-35

62-52026-118

Honorable Strom Thurmond  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C. 20510

My dear Senator:

I received your letter of September 16th  
requesting FBI assistance in connection with the investi-  
gations being undertaken by the South Carolina State  
Committee to Investigate Communist Activities.

While I certainly would like to be of service  
to your constituents, information contained in the files of  
the FBI must be maintained as confidential in accordance  
with regulations of the Department of Justice. I regret  
I am unable to be of help in this instance but trust this  
Committee will understand the necessary reasons for this  
policy.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 19

SEP 22 1964

COMM-FBI

- 1 - Savannah - Enclosure
- 1 - Charlotte - Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach - Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan - Enclosure

NOTE: Correspondent is on the Special Correspondents' List. Although  
Senator Thurmond's incoming letter uses the word "assistant", it is assumed  
he meant the word "assistance" and the reply is being phrased accordingly.

DTB:mlk (9)

84 SEP 30 1964

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SEP 21 3 05 PM '64  
REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI

RICHARD B. RUSSELL, GA, CHAIRMAN  
JOHN STENNIS, MISS  
HARRY FLOOD BYRD, VA  
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HENRY M. JACKSON, WASH  
SAM J. ERVIN, JR., N.C.  
STROM THURMOND, S.C.  
CLAIR ENGLE, CALIF.  
HOWARD W. CANNON, NEV.  
ROBERT C. BYRD, W. VA.  
STEPHEN M. YOUNG, OHIO  
DANIEL K. INOUE, HAWAII

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, MASS  
MARGARET CHASE SMITH, MAINE  
J. GLENN BEALL, MICH.  
BARRY GOLDWATER, ARIZ.  
CLIFFORD P. CASE, N.J.

HARRY L. WINGATE, JR., CHIEF CLERK

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

September 16, 1964

Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I have received a request from the Committee to Investigate Communist Activities, State of South Carolina, for the names of individuals in South Carolina who have definite Communist records and have been involved in racial activities such as those mentioned in Senator Eastland's speech before the Senate on July 22, 1964.

I would be most appreciative of any assistant you can furnish since the Committee is trying to do a creditable job of investigating Communist activities in my State.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

*Strom Thurmond*

Strom Thurmond

ST:cc

34 SEP 18 1964

EXP. PROC. 30

W

62-52026-71  
14 SEP 18 1964  
24  
8-01P

REC-35

ack 9-21-64  
DTP med for  
3 xerox  
med

[REDACTED]

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

SEP 25 1964

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_

FBI WASH DC

FBI LOS ANG.

1045

PM URGENT 9/25/64 AH

TO DIRECTOR

FROM LOS ANGELES 157-636 2P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

POSSIBLE PICKETING OF SENATOR STROM THURMOND BY NAACP,  
BURBANK, CALIFORNIA, SEPTEMBER TWENTYSIX NEXT, RM.

[REDACTED] BURBANK,  
CALIFORNIA POLICE DEPARTMENT, ADVISED THAT SENATOR STROM  
THURMOND AND RETIRED [REDACTED] ARE TO  
ADDRESS A DINNER MEETING AT THE CASTAWAY RESTAURANT,  
BURBANK, AT SEVEN P.M. ON SEPTEMBER TWENTYSIX NEXT.

[REDACTED] SAID THAT POLICE DEPARTMENT WAS CONTACTED BY  
TELEPHONE THIS DATE [REDACTED] WHO IDENTIFIED HIMSELF

[REDACTED]  
THURMOND UNQUOTE. [REDACTED] NOTIFIED POLICE DEPARTMENT  
THAT THE NAACP HAS THREATENED TO PICKET THE MEETING.  
BURBANK POLICE DEPARTMENT FULLY COGNIZANT AND CLOSELY  
FOLLOWING. ATTEMPTS BEING MADE TO LOCATE [REDACTED] FOR

INTERVIEWING AS ORIGINAL SOURCE. REGION TWO ONE HUNDRED

END PAGE

REC 10

14 SEP 28 1964

56 OCT 5 1964  
cc - White House folder  
Blond + Behozch

PAGE TWO

FIFTEENTH INTC, PASADENA, ADVISED. LOS ANGELES SOURCES  
ALERTED AND MATTER WILL BE CLOSELY FOLLOWED. LETTERHEAD  
MEMO FOLLOWS.

END

LRA

FBI WASH DC

P



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

F B I

Date. 9/26/64

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

(Priority)

TO: *W66* DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM: *W66* SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-636)  
RE: POSSIBLE PICKETING OF  
SENATOR STROM THURMOND BY  
NAACP, Burbank, California  
9/26/64  
RACIAL MATTER

Agency G-2, ONI, OSI, CRD

Date Forw. SEP 28 1964

How Forw. *RS*By *L. H. [illegible]**2 destroyed*  
100 - Room 828 RB

Re Los Angeles tel to Bureau 9/25/64.

Enclosed herewith is an LHM pertaining to a receipt  
of information concerning the alleged picket threat, as well  
as subsequent contact with the original source of the info.

Information from [REDACTED]  
was received by SA [REDACTED] Burbank Resident Agency.

Notification to Region II, 115th INTC. U.S. Army,  
Pasadena, California, was made by SA [REDACTED]

Interview of [REDACTED] on 9/26/64, was made by  
SA [REDACTED]

b6  
b7c

EX 109

REC-35

3 - Bureau (Encl 8) ENCLOSURE

2 - Los Angeles  
(1 - 100-5589)JM/bjk  
(5)

14 SEP 28 1964

SUBV. CONTROL

b6  
b7c

Approved

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

OCT 2 1964



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California

September 26, 1964

POSSIBLE PICKETING OF  
SENATOR STROM THURMOND  
BY NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR  
THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE  
Burbank, California  
September 26, 1964

On September 25, 1964, [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] Burbank, California Police Department advised  
a Special Agent of the FBI that Senator Strom Thurmond and  
[REDACTED] are to address a dinner  
meeting at the Castaway Restaurant, Burbank at 7:00 PM on  
September 26, 1964.

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED] said that on September 25, 1964, the Police

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

It was determined that [REDACTED] is that of an  
answering service where a message was left for [REDACTED] requesting  
that he contact the FBI.

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

At 11:00 AM on September 26, 1964, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
telephoned a Special Agent of the FBI at Los Angeles. He  
said that he could not recall the source of his information  
to the effect that the NAACP might picket the meeting. He  
said it could have come from anyone of twenty or more people  
with whom [REDACTED] or it is  
even possible that he had read of the alleged picket threat  
in a newspaper.. In all events, he decided, after thinking  
the matter over for a few hours that he should alert the Burbank  
Police Department and did so.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

ENCLOSURE

62-52026-72

At 6:00 PM on September 25, 1964, [redacted]  
[redacted] Region II, 115th INTC, U.S. Army, Pasadena,  
California, was advised of the information as originally  
received from [redacted]

b6  
b7C

This document contains neither recommendations nor  
conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is  
loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be  
distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

F B I

Date: 9/28/64

Transmit the following in PLAIN  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-636)  
RE: POSSIBLE PICKETING OF SENATOR STROM  
THURMOND BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION  
FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE,  
BURBANK, CALIFORNIA  
9/26/64  
RM

*6107/26/64*

Re teletype from Los Angeles to Director dated  
9/26/64, 73

Enclosed herewith are eight (8) copies of a  
letterhead memorandum (LHM) which is self-explanatory.  
Information was furnished by [REDACTED] Burbank,  
California, Police Department to SA [REDACTED]

*C*

b6  
b7c

A copy of this LHM is being furnished to  
Region II, 115th INTC, Pasadena for the completion of  
their files.

Agency G-2, ONI, OSI, CRD

Date Forw. OCT 1 1964

How Forw. *B/S*By *Sgt/med 62-52126-74*REC-32 *C*

3 - Bureau (Enc. - 8) ENCLOSURE / Room 828 RB 21 SEP 30 1964  
2 - Los Angeles (1 - 100-5589)

JM:BRB  
(5)

*2 destroyed*

*SUP CONTROL*

Approved

*F-122*  
*W66/DW*  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California

September 28, 1964

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

POSSIBLE PICKETING OF  
SENATOR STROM THURMOND BY  
THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION  
FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF  
COLORED PEOPLE, BURBANK,  
CALIFORNIA, SEPTEMBER 26, 1964

At 9:30 P.M. on September 26, 1964, Burbank, California  
Police Department [REDACTED] advised a Special  
Agent of the FBI that no picketing whatever nor had other  
incidents occurred at the Castaway Restaurant, Burbank,  
California, where Senator Strom Thurmond appeared to deliver  
a speech on the evening of September 26, 1964.

A copy of this memorandum is furnished to Region  
II, 115th INTC, Pasadena for information.

This document contains neither recommendations  
nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI  
and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not  
to be distributed outside your agency.

62-52026-74

ENCLOSURE

b7C  
b6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO MR. TOLSON

DATE 10/30/64

FROM J. P. MOHR

SUBJECT

[REDACTED] Senator Strom Thurmond's Office

On the afternoon of 10/30/64, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] a personal friend of

mine, called me and said that an employee of INS had found a carbon copy of a letter on the streets of Capitol Hill addressed to the Director and dated 10/28/64. He read the letter to me and I asked him if he would send it to me which he did immediately.

The letter is addressed to the Director and is signed ostensibly by

[REDACTED] to Senator Strom Thurmond. The letter is

difficult to follow but indicates it is written for the purpose of informing the Director that either the Director or his Bureau is being used to follow up leads derived from illegal telephone monitoring of calls from Senator Strom Thurmond's office. He indicates that a hoax call was made which was recorded. The purpose of this hoax call was to determine if the FBI is involved in illegal telephone taps in conspiracy with the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company and being used as a political tool by the present Administration. He goes on to relate that this incident which he doesn't really identify is increasingly appalling since [REDACTED] assured in person that no telephones on Capitol Hill were ever illegally monitored. He said that it is obvious he was lying.

Messrs. Belmont and DeLoach are unable to fathom the significance of this letter. We have never received the original of it. Mr. DeLoach knows [REDACTED] having interviewed him since he was the one who started the rumor that Oswald was an FBI informant.

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that Mr. DeLoach's office contact [REDACTED] and ask him to explain just what this letter is all about.

1 - Mr. Tolson  
1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Sullivan

JPM:ers (6)

ENCLOSURE

FBI

COPY SENT TO MR. TOLSON

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7Cb6  
b7Cb6  
b7Cb6  
b7Cb6  
b7C

56 NOV 23 1964

October 28, 1964

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover  
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation  
U. S. Department of Justice  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Sir:

This letter is to inform you that either you or your Bureau is being used to follow up leads derived from illegal telephone monitoring. A call was made purposely on October 29, 1964, because there have been two previous occasions when the FBI responded from telephone calls made from Senator Thurmond's office. All the calls have been on items which directly concerned the present Presidential campaign.

The latest call was for the purpose of verifying these illegal telephone taps. In this case, we have recorded the call. The calls refer to an alleged investigation in Texas concerning [REDACTED] and the murder of a man in Texas. He was shot in the side and head. The insinuation was that a high level personage was involved.

Mention also was made of [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] having similar arrest records.

All of the above is a hoax for the purpose of determining if the FBI is involved in illegal telephone taps in conspiracy with the C & P Telephone Company and being used as a political tool by the present Administration.

b6  
b7C

b6  
b7C

62-52026-75

ENCLOSURE

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover  
Page 2  
October 28, 1964

[redacted] was fully aware of his part in uncovering this illegal activity. Copies of this letter have been passed to responsible newspapermen. By the time your agents deliver this letter to you, the tape will also be in their hands.

b6  
b7C

This incident is increasingly appalling since your [redacted] assured us in person that no telephones on Capitol Hill were ever illegally monitored. It is obvious he was lying.

b6  
b7C

The call was made from [redacted] office of Senator Strom Thurmond [redacted] office of the law firm [redacted]

b2  
b6  
b7C

Sincerely,

[redacted]

PJC:c

[redacted]

b6  
b7C



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE November 3, 1964

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT : [redacted]  
Senator Strom Thurmond's Office

Your memorandum of 10/30/64 to Mr. Tolson reflected that on that same afternoon [redacted] Immigration and Naturalization Service, a personal friend, called and stated that an employee of his agency had found the attached carbon copy of a letter on the streets of Capitol Hill addressed to the Director and dated 10/28/64. You asked that the letter be delivered to you immediately.

The letter in question was addressed to the Director and signed by [redacted] to Senator Strom Thurmond. You stated that the letter was difficult to follow but that it indicates it was written for the purpose of informing the Director that either the Director or his Bureau was being used to follow up leads derived from illegal telephone monitoring of calls from Senator Strom Thurmond's office. In the letter, [redacted] indicated that a hoax call was made which was recorded. The purpose of the hoax call was to determine if the FBI was involved in illegal telephone taps in conspiracy with the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company and being used as a political tool by the present Administration. [redacted] went on to relate that this incident, which he did not identify, was increasingly appalling since [redacted] had assured in person that no telephones on Capitol Hill were ever illegally monitored. He stated it was obvious that [redacted] was lying.

You recommended that my office contact [redacted] and ask him to explain what his letter is all about.

I called [redacted] at 10:10 a.m. today. He was in the office of Senator Strom Thurmond. I told him I wanted to talk to him about a matter and that we could handle this either in his office or in mine. He stated that it made no difference to him. I asked him to come to my office.

Special Agent Supervisor [redacted] sat in with me during the interview of [redacted]. I told [redacted] I wanted to come right to the point in an honest and frank manner. [redacted] then proceeded to read the letter. He asked me if he could see the letter. I handed it to him but told him that I wanted it back. He then asked the question, "How did this ever get out?" I asked him point blank if this was his letter. He acknowledged that it was.

Enc.

- Mr. Belmont 1 - Mr. Sullivan 1 - Mr. Jones

DD:amr (5) NOV 23 1964

(Continued on next page.)

DeLoach to Mohr memo, 11/3/64  
Re: PHILIP J. CORSO

I asked him why he had written such a letter. He stated that it was all a joke. He attempted to explain that 3 of Senator Thurmond's assistants were sitting around in the office one night and in fun dictated the attached letter. He stated there was no intention that the letter would ever get out and, as a matter of fact, the original and all copies, he believed, had been destroyed. He stated that he was amazed that a copy of this letter had been found on the streets.

[ ] asked me if the person that found the letter had access to Senator Thurmond's trash cans. I reiterated the fact that the letter had been found on the street by a representative of a Government agency other than the FBI. I again asked [ ] why he wrote the letter. He repeated that it was just a joke, that no harm was intended, and there had never been any intention that the letter would be sent out. I told him that if his statements were true why had he had the letter signed or witnessed [ ] He stated that [ ] was part of the 3-man group that wrote the letter and that [ ] was an attorney [ ] case. [ ] added that 3 individuals were sitting around in Senator Thurmond's office discussing the campaign and just decided to dash off a letter in fun.

b6  
b7C

b6  
b7C

I asked [ ] if he thought that the FBI had tapped Senator Thurmond's telephone lines. He stated that he knew this not to be true. He added that he had never thought this, however, did feel that a private detective company might have tapped the Senator's lines. He stated that a check had been made and that the results showed that no lines had been tapped whatsoever.

b6  
b7C

I told [ ] that the FBI of course could not regard this so-called attempts at "fun" as a joke. I told him I wanted him to understand once again that the FBI did not tap telephone wires on Capitol Hill and that we, of course, could not appreciate his brand of humor. [ ] reiterated the fact that he knew the FBI did not tap telephone lines on Capitol Hill.

#### BACKGROUND ON [ ]

[ ] is the fuzzy-minded individual who, upon retiring from [ ] some years ago, furnished information indicating that a number of officials at the Pentagon were believers of Fabian Socialism. He offered little evidence in this regard and it was obvious that this was something dreamed up by him. Shortly after the assassination of President Kennedy, Senator Eastland, Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, advised me that he had heard from a reliable source that Lee Harvey Oswald had been an FBI informant. The Senator stated that Senators Dirksen and Hruska also had this understanding from the same source. We ran this rumor down after spending considerable time and found that it emanated from [ ] attempted to explain his way out of the matter by stating he had heard it from friends [ ] He refused to identify these friends. [ ] believes himself to be an "expert" on intelligence

b2  
b6  
b7C

(Continued on next page.)

DeLoach to Mohr memo. 11/3/64  
Re: PHILIP J. CORSO

matters. He does a great deal of the writing and research for Senator Thurmond, who, as you know, recently jumped from the Democratic Party to the Republican Party.

[redacted] was very apologetic concerning the attached letter. This, however, seems to be another indication of his psychopathic tendencies.

ACTION:

For record purposes.

b6  
b7C

JP

December 8, 1964

4  
①  
Honorable Strom Thurmond  
Walter Reed Army Medical Center  
6825 16th Street, N. W.  
Washington, D. C.

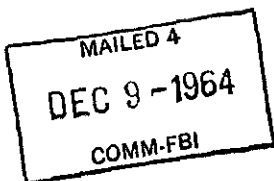
My dear Senator:

I was indeed sorry to learn of your recent operation and confinement in Walter Reed Army Medical Center, and I sincerely hope this finds you feeling much better. While I know it must be difficult for you to remain inactive temporarily, if you will follow your doctor's orders closely I am sure you will soon be on your feet again.

All of your friends in the FBI join me in wishing you a rapid and complete recovery. Meanwhile if there is anything I can do to help you, feel free to contact me.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



DEC 11 4 42 PM '64  
READING ROOM  
FBI

NOTE: Senator Thurmond is on the Special Correspondents' List.

WAM:pem  
(3)

62-52026-37  
16 DEC 10 1964

ENCLOSURE

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_ b6  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_ b7C  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

## Sen. Thurmond<sup>4</sup> Is Operated On

By the Associated Press

Sen Strom Thurmond, R-SC, underwent an operation today for removal of his gall bladder and appendix at Walter Reed Army Hospital here, his office announced.

There was surgery also to repair a hernia, aides to Thurmond said.

They said his doctors reported the Senator "is doing very well," but will not be allowed to have visitors for a few days.

The operations were performed by Lt Gen Leonard D. Heaton, Army surgeon general, and by Col Thomas Whelan, chief of general surgery at the hospital.

*Reyes*

The Washington Post and \_\_\_\_\_  
Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
The Evening Star A3 *final*  
New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Post \_\_\_\_\_  
The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_  
The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
People's World \_\_\_\_\_  
Date \_\_\_\_\_

*let to Thurmond  
12-8-64  
S.A.M. Jones*

DEC 7 1964

42-52024-77

*(Stamm)*

*m8*

ENCLOSURE



UNITED STATES SENATE  
WASHINGTON, D C  
December 14, 1964

STROM THURMOND  
SOUTH CAROLINA

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover  
U. S. Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I am writing to express my sincere appreciation to you for your kind message to me in connection with my operation and recuperation. You were most thoughtful to convey your interest and concern.

I am making good progress, and looking forward to leaving the hospital soon enough to get to South Carolina for Christmas.

Again expressing my appreciation for your kindness, and with best wishes,

REC-23 62-52026-78  
Sincerely,

*Strom*  
Strom Thurmond

ST:r

EXP. PROC. 37

DEC 16 1964

38 DEC 22 1964

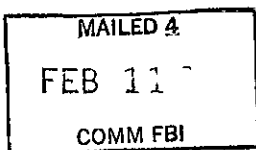
February 11, 1965

Honorable Strom Thurmond  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C. 20510

My dear Senator:

Thank you for the generous remarks you delivered on the Floor of the Senate on February 9th in connection with the Resolution of The Mullins Presbyterian Church. You may be assured my associates join me in expressing appreciation for including this Resolution in the "Congressional Record."

Sincerely yours,  
J. Edgar Hoover



NOTE: Senator Thurmond is on the Special Correspondents' List and the Pastor of The Mullins Presbyterian Church was thanked for this Resolution by outgoing 2-3-65.

DTP:lsg  
(3)

ENCLOSURE

son \_\_\_\_\_  
lmont \_\_\_\_\_  
hr \_\_\_\_\_  
Loach \_\_\_\_\_  
sper \_\_\_\_\_  
Hanan \_\_\_\_\_  
nrad \_\_\_\_\_  
lt \_\_\_\_\_  
e \_\_\_\_\_  
sen \_\_\_\_\_  
livan \_\_\_\_\_  
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otter \_\_\_\_\_  
le Room \_\_\_\_\_  
lmes \_\_\_\_\_  
dy \_\_\_\_\_

58 FEB 23 1965

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI  
FEB 11 1 55 PM '65

EX-102  
REC-120

62-52026-79

21 FEB 12 1965

That the Massachusetts House of Representatives respectfully urges the Congress of the United States to instruct the Department of Defense to revoke its directive ordering the closing of the Springfield Armory, and be it further

"Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be transmitted forthwith by the secretary of the Commonwealth, to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of Defense, to the Presiding Officer of each branch of the Congress, and to the Members thereof from the Commonwealth

"KEVIN H WHITE

"Secretary of the Commonwealth."

A resolution adopted by Ophir Grange No 767, relating to the national farm program, to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry

Resolutions adopted by the Seventh District Democratic Farmer Labor Central Committee, Lake Park, Minn., relating to the national farm program, to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry

A petition signed by Walter E McNulty, and 220 other patients of the Sunmount Veterans' Administration Hospital, at Tupper Lake, N.Y., favoring the continued operation of that hospital, to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

A resolution adopted by the mayor and council of the city of Fort Gaines, Ga., favoring the designation of the lake created by the Walter F George lock and dam as "Lake Winston Churchill", to the Committee on Public Works

#### CONCURRENT RESOLUTION OF SOUTH DAKOTA LEGISLATURE

Mr DIRKSEN Mr President, I ask unanimous consent to have placed in the Record the text of House Concurrent Resolution No 3, which has been adopted by the 4th session of the South Dakota State Legislature

This resolution requests the Governor of the State of South Dakota to proclaim the week of August 29, 1965, as Junior Legion Baseball Week We in South Dakota are proud that our State is the birthplace of Junior Legion baseball, which this year is observing its 40th anniversary

Mr President, the Little World Series, representing the Nation's best Junior Legion baseball teams, will be played in South Dakota this year The proclamation of Junior Legion Baseball Week is a fitting tribute to all young men who participate in Junior Legion baseball and to the fine sponsorship of the American Legion.

There being no objection, the concurrent resolution was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, as follows

#### HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 3

Concurrent resolution requesting the Governor to proclaim the week of August 29, 1965, as Junior Legion Baseball Week

Be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of South Dakota (the Senate concurring therein)

Whereas South Dakota is the birthplace of Junior Legion baseball, and

Whereas this is the 40th anniversary of the birth of Junior Legion baseball, and

Whereas the Little World Series, representing the Nation's best Junior Legion baseball teams, will be played in South Dakota in 1965, and

Whereas Junior Legion baseball contributed directly to the physical, mental, and moral health of today's young men, and

Whereas the Little World Series, the young men who will participate in the event, and

all Junior Legion baseball players merit recognition and attention of the people of the State South Dakota Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, by the House of Representatives of the 40th Legislature of the State of South Dakota (the Senate concurring therein), That the Governor proclaim the week of August 29, 1965 as Junior Legion Baseball Week; and be it further

Resolved, That a duly attested copy of this resolution be immediately transmitted by the secretary of state of the State of South Dakota to the Secretary of the Senate of the United States, the Clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States and to each Member of the Congress from this State.

#### RESOLUTION OF MULLINS PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, MULLINS, S.C

Mr. THURMOND. Mr President, I am pleased to call to the attention of my colleagues a resolution of commendation in behalf of FBI Director J Edgar Hoover as approved by the Presbytery of Pee Dee of the Presbyterian Church in the United States on January 26, 1965 I ask unanimous consent, Mr President, that this eloquent tribute expressing gratitude for and confidence in the services of this great American patriot be printed in the Record and appropriately referred.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed in the Record, as follows:

A RESOLUTION COMMENDING J. EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR OF THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, SUBMITTED BY THE MULLINS PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, MULLINS, S.C

Whereas the constitution of our church provides that lower courts may propose to higher courts measures as may be of common advantage to the whole church, and

Whereas our Lord Jesus Christ testifies "Think not that I have come to abolish the law and the prophets, I have come not to abolish them but to fulfill them" (Matthew 5 17), and

Whereas He said "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's" (Mark 12 17); and

Whereas the Apostle Paul testifies; "Let every person be subject to the governing authorities For there is no authority except from God, and those that exist have been instituted by God" (Romans 12. 1), and

Whereas the Apostle Peter testifies "Be subject for the Lord's sake to every human institution, whether it be to the emperor as supreme, or to governors as sent by him to punish those who do wrong and to praise those who do right For it is God's will that by doing right you should put to silence the ignorance of foolish men Live as freemen, yet without using your freedom as a pretext for evil; but live as servants of God Honor all men Love the brotherhood Fear God Honor the emperor" (I Peter 2. 13-17), and

Whereas the system of law and government in the United States of America is not less worthy of our obedient citizenship than the Roman system of the first century, and

Whereas for a period of 40 years the Federal Bureau of Investigation, under its director, J Edgar Hoover, has performed an incomparably excellent service to God and to our Nation in the faithful exercise of the investigative authority it has under our system of justice, and

Whereas Mr. Hoover has always employed a policy of thoroughness, strict impartiality, and careful observance of the human rights and constitutional rights of all citizens in the work of the Federal Bureau of Investigation; and

ENCLOSURE 62-520-21-77

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Whereas this consistently faithful service has immeasurably fostered and sustained the cause of justice in behalf of the citizens of our country: Therefore,

Resolved, That the Presbytery of Pee Dee of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, hereby gives thanks to God and highly commends our fellow Presbyterian servant of our Lord Jesus Christ, J. Edgar Hoover, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation for their faithful, impartial, and excellent service in the cause of justice, and

That this Presbytery propose to the general assembly of our church at its next meeting that that court endorse this resolution as a testimony that is of common advantage to our whole church and to the cause of justice in our Nation

At the direction of the session, convened January 25, 1965.

Respectfully submitted

THE MULLINS PRESBYTERIAN  
CHURCH,  
J. MELVIN ENGLAND,

Pastor

A. M. COUNTS,

Clerk of Session.

### RESOLUTION OF INDIANA BROADCASTERS ASSOCIATION

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I present, for appropriate reference, a resolution adopted by the Indiana Broadcasters Association, relating to the proposed granting of superpower by the Federal Communications Commission. I ask unanimous consent that the resolution may be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the resolution was referred to the Committee on Commerce, and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### RESOLUTION OF INDIANA BROADCASTERS ASSOCIATION

Whereas the Federal Communications Commission is now considering the granting of power as high as 500,000 watts for the 12 remaining class I clear channel stations, and

Whereas seven radio stations that presently operate with the maximum of 50,000 watts have requested licenses to operate with as much as 750,000 watts, and

Whereas the granting of superpower of this order to these stations, or to any clear channel station, would give them a dominant voice in the radio medium in dissemination of news, information, and viewpoints, and an overall competitive advantage in coverage, listeners, and potential advertising revenues, etc., and

Whereas this action would result in widespread interference with the signals of smaller stations, and in severe adverse impact on the income and local public service potential of smaller stations everywhere, and

Whereas under the existing radio allocations system which has provided diverse media in medium and smaller sized communities in all areas of the country, this action is unnecessary and unwarranted, even for purposes of emergency defense communications now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Indiana Broadcasters Association joins many other State associations, independent industry groups (Association of Broadcasting Standards, Daytime Broadcaster's Association, etc.) in registering unconditional opposition to this proposed granting of "superpower" by the FCC, and further be it

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to all members of the Federal Communications Commission, to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the U.S. House of Representatives, to the Committee on Commerce of the United

States Senate, to the Members of the Congress from the State of Indiana, and other appointed or elected officials or persons interested in this action.

Done at Indianapolis, Ind., Monday, February 1, 1965 by the board of directors, Indiana Broadcasters Association, Inc.

WM. THOMAS HAMILTON,

President

Attest

WILLIAM C. FOWLER,

Secretary treasurer

### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. DIRKSEN, from the Committee on the Judiciary, without amendment

S 301 A bill to promote public knowledge of progress and achievement in astronautics and related sciences through the designation of a special day in honor of Dr. Robert Hutchings Goddard, the father of modern rockets, missiles, and astronautics (Rept. No. 60)

By Mr. JACKSON, from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, without amendment

S 490 A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the Manson unit, Chelan division, Chief Joseph Dam project, Washington, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 61)

By Mr. JACKSON, from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, with an amendment

S 794 A bill to amend the act of June 12, 1948 (52 Stat. 382), in order to provide for the construction, operation, and maintenance of the Kennewick division extension, Yakima project, Washington, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 62)

By Mr. CHURCH, from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, with amendments

S 60 A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to designate the Nez Perce National Historical Park in the State of Idaho, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 63)

By Mr. METCALF, from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, with amendments

S 491 A bill to provide for the establishment of the Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area, and for other purposes, (Rept. No. 64)

### REPORT ENTITLED "REFUGEES FROM COMMUNISM IN ASIA" (S REPT NO 59)

Mr. HART, from the Committee on the Judiciary, submitted a report entitled "Refuges From Communism in Asia," which was ordered to be printed.

### EXECUTIVE REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

As in executive session,

The following favorable report of a nomination was submitted

By Mr. FULBRIGHT, from the Committee on Foreign Relations

Donald W. Hoagland, of Colorado, to be Assistant Administrator for Development Finance and Private Enterprise, Agency for International Development

### BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows

By Mr. McGOVERN

S 1050 A bill to amend the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 to authorize administrative expenses for State plans for an additional fiscal year, to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

(See the remarks of Mr. McGOVERN when he introduced the above bill, which appear on p. 2146 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Monday, Feb. 8, 1965.)

By Mr. DIRKSEN

S 1051 A bill to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 to provide, as a substitute for the existing requirement of production before 1830, that antiques may be imported free of duty if they exceed 100 years of age at the time of importation, to the Committee on Finance (See the remarks of Mr. DIRKSEN when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading)

By Mr. HART (for himself, Mr. DOUGLAS, Mr. GRUENING, Mr. HARTKE, Mr. INOUYE, Mr. KENNEDY of New York, Mr. MCGEE, Mr. MCINTYRE, Mr. METCALF, Mr. MONDALE, Mr. MORSE, Mr. NELSON, Mrs. NEUBERGER, Mr. PASTORE, Mr. RANDOLPH, Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, Mr. YARBOROUGH, and Mr. YOUNG of Ohio)

S 1052 A bill to establish an Office of Consumers in order to secure within the Federal Government effective representation of the economic interests of consumers, to act as a central clearinghouse in Government for consumer complaints, to disseminate information to consumers, and for other purposes, to the Committee on Government Operations

(See the remarks of Mr. HART when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading)

By Mr. MAGNUSON (by request)

S 1053 A bill to authorize appropriations for procurement of vessels and aircraft and construction of shore and offshore establishments for the Coast Guard, to the Committee on Commerce

(See the remarks of Mr. MAGNUSON when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading)

By Mr. MAGNUSON (for himself and Mr. BARTLETT)

S 1054 A bill to make clear that fishermen's organizations, regardless of their technical legal status, have a voice in the ex-vessel sale of fish or other aquatic products on which the livelihood of their members depends, to the Committee on Commerce

(See the remarks of Mr. MAGNUSON when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading)

By Mr. JAVITS

S 1055 A bill to provide for the acquisition and preservation of the real property known as the Ansley Wilcox House in Buffalo, N. Y., as a national historic site, to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs

(See the remarks of Mr. JAVITS when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading)

By Mr. JAVITS (for himself and Mr. KENNEDY of New York)

S 1056 A bill to amend title 23 of the United States Code relating to highways, in order to permit States having toll and free roads, bridges, and tunnels designated as part of the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways to designate other routes for inclusion in the Interstate System and to increase the mileage in the Interstate System, to the Committee on Public Works

(See the remarks of Mr. JAVITS when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading)

By Mr. FULBRIGHT

S 1057 A bill to authorize the use of excess Government-owned foreign currencies to finance the establishment abroad of bi-national foundations for educational and scientific purposes, to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

May 12, 1964

Honorable Strom Thurmond  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C. 20510

My dear Senator:

I want to express my heartfelt thanks for your very generous remarks on the Floor of the Senate yesterday in honor of my anniversary as Director of the FBI and for your interest in entering into the "Congressional Record" the editorial concerning me from the May 9th issue of the "Columbia Record."

Your very thoughtful remarks concerning my administration of this Bureau mean a great deal to me, and I am certainly grateful for your outstanding support. You may be sure that I will strive to merit your continued approval.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Senator Thurmond is on the Special Correspondents' List.

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SEN.

Mr. THURMOND subsequently said: "President, I am pleased to join my distinguished colleague from Connecticut [Mr. Dodd] in paying tribute to Mr. J. Edgar Hoover on his 40th anniversary of dedicated and most remarkable service to his country as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the U.S. Department of Justice. The Senator from Connecticut can speak as a voice of authority and experience as one who has actually served under the leadership of this great American patriot, having been at one time a special agent of the FBI. I feel, however, that I can likewise speak as one who understands and respects the unique record of service which Mr. Hoover has compiled as the No. 1 crime and Communist buster in his country because his record speaks for itself."

Forty years ago, 29-year-old John Edgar Hoover was given a mammoth job. He was made Acting Director of the Bureau of Investigation so he could have an opportunity to put into effect some of his ideas for improving the Bureau to make for efficient operations and to rid it of political influences. Soon after the reorganization job was completed, Mr. Hoover was made Director of the Bureau, and the greatest and most efficient investigative agency the world has ever known began to take shape.

Since that time, great strides have been made in improving law enforcement and investigative techniques in this country. Most of these improvements have been initiated and demonstrated to law enforcement officers all over the United States by the Federal Bureau of Investigation under Mr. Hoover's efficient direction. During these 40 years, there have been many suggestions that national police force be established under Mr. Hoover, increasing his powers and influence—if increasing his influence is possible. All these suggestions have been turned down by Mr. Hoover, however, because of his dedication to the important principle that law enforcement is a local responsibility and that centralization of such power in one place could pose far more dangers to freedom in this country than any good which an all-powerful and efficiently run national police force might ever provide as protection against crime.

Mr. Hoover has not only earned unparalleled fame as the most efficient crime buster in this country, but he also

has been appropriately recognized on many occasions as a leading patriot and fighter in the battle to protect our Nation against Communist efforts to subvert our Government and our American ideals and institutions. He has warned Americans over and over again on the insidious operations of the Communists and their aims to dominate and communize the world. His contributions to the fight against communism extend far beyond his duties to keep tabs on the Communist Party, USA. In many speeches and articles and in his two outstanding books, "Masters of Deceit" and "A Study of Communism," Mr. Hoover has attempted with eloquence and logic to alert the American people as to the menace of communism and the many facets of Communist operations.

In addition to his many contributions in providing protection to the American people against crime and communism, Mr. Hoover has set a splendid example in personal ideals and living for all Americans. A man of deep personal convictions, Mr. Hoover's irreducible character is bottomed on a firm belief in God. In his writings and his speeches and his personal life, he is constantly contributing to the development of good moral character in young Americans, and this in itself is a great contribution to our country.

America and the cause of freedom owe a great debt of gratitude to this devoted public servant who has served his country so capably for so long and with so much distinction. I know I speak for practically every American except the criminals and Communists when I express to President Lyndon Johnson my appreciation for recognizing Mr. Hoover's unique and distinguished service by issuing an Executive order which permits his continuation in the office of FBI Director. I am glad that the President has such a high regard for Mr. Hoover, and I am confident that he will find that his faith in this great American will be rewarded many times over in continued outstanding, efficient, and devoted service to his country.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record at the conclusion of these remarks an excellent editorial from the Columbia Record of Columbia, S.C., dated May 9, 1964, entitled "America Needs Mr. Hoover."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### AMERICA NEEDS MR. HOOVER

Forty years ago tomorrow, J. Edgar Hoover took over as director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. In the intervening four decades, he and his agency have established a record unique in the annals of America. The record of nonpolitical service to all Americans has not been happenstance.

With admirable determination, Mr. Hoover has fought to maintain the FBI as a nonpartisan arm of the Federal Government, protecting the rights of all, challenging the rights of none.

His agency, as Mr. Hoover well knows, contains the seeds of terrible destruction capable of robbing the individual American of intrinsic independence. Under political domination the FBI could become a channel of control similar to those operative in foreign lands.

Sturdily, Mr. Hoover has protected all Americans by protecting his agency from partisan domination. Most elected and non-elected officials of power-conscious Washington applaud him, knowing that Mr. Hoover's design never has been—nor ever will be—either personal power or personal grandeur.

Unfortunately there are a few critics who grumble that the FBI Director should be more subservient to the Attorney General. Critics think it is wrong in principle to have a chief investigator so largely free of control by Justice Department officials. One nationally influential newspaper has reported:

These critics ignore a simple truth. Official Washington, through its tripartite power structure, would long ago have reined Mr. Hoover, or any other FBI Director, had he not scrupulously avoided personal empire-building and image creation.

Mr. Hoover and his agency have served the people well in the past 40 years sensibly guarding against internal communism, rationally restraining attempts to transform the agency into a national police force, honestly aiding local law enforcement, and—without fear or favor—serving Presidents as nonpolitical creatures.

We hope that President Johnson will decide to waive the compulsory retirement age of Mr. Hoover (he turns 70 on next January 1) and allow him to continue as Director.

America needs him.

ENCL(SURE)

Let to Thurmond  
DFC:eca  
5-12-64

62-52026-81

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO The Director  
FROM N P Callahan  
SUBJECT The Congressional Record

DATE 4-9-65

STROM THURMOND

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Red  
Original filed in 66-1731-2117

Pages A1720-A1722. Senator Mundt, (R) South Dakota, placed in the Record a speech delivered by Senator Thurmond, (R) South Carolina, before the Aberdeen (South Dakota) Chamber of Commerce on January 9, 1965. Mr. Mundt advised that Thurmond "delivered a most forceful and thoughtful address on the problems of our times and the prospects that lie ahead for the type of free society that has been ours for nearly two centuries. - - - the fact that his speech is, indeed, a vital one is demonstrated by the fact that the publication, 'Vital Speeches of the Day,' printed Senator Thurmond's address in its February 15, 1965, edition." During this address Mr. Thurmond stated

"Other changes are quietly in process. There is a strong movement underway to convert the Federal Bureau of Investigation into a national police force, a change which the present Director, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, has in the past successfully prevented."

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 4-8-65 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

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APR 21 1965

May 27, 1965

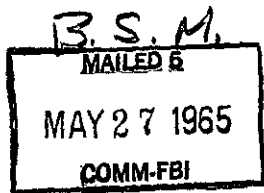
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

⑥  
Honorable Strom Thurmond  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

It was certainly good of you to attend  
the graduation exercises for the 75th Session of the  
FBI National Academy yesterday. Enclosed are  
copies of the photographs taken after the ceremonies  
which I thought you might like to have.

Sincerely yours,  
J. Edgar Hoover



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Enclosures (9)

1 - Savannah - Enclosures (3)

19 MAY 28 1965

NOTE: Senator Thurmond is on the Special Correspondents' List.

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June 4, 1965

Honorable Strom Thurmond  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C. 20510

My dear Senator:

I have read your report of May 31st  
entitled "The Radical Left" and want to take this  
opportunity to thank you for bringing these vital issues  
to the attention of your constituents.

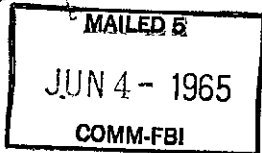
This perceptive report should do much  
to inform the people of your state of the methods used  
by the communists to influence the youth of our Nation.  
I want you to know that all of us in the FBI appreciate  
your staunch support.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Senator Thurmond is on the Special Correspondents' List.

WAM:med (4)





STROM THURMOND

reports

TO THE PEOPLE

Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

b6  
b7c

Committees:

Armed Services  
Banking and Currency  
Republican Policy

Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee  
Appropriations Subcommittees on  
Defense and Military Construction

VOL XI, NO. 21

MAY 31, 1965

The Radical Left

The man primarily charged with keeping tabs on enemy plans to subvert our Nation has been in large part ignored in his admonitions on internal security. For the past several years, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has warned in books, articles, speeches, and testimony about three primary projects of the communists in the United States: (1) twisting of minds of campus youngsters with communist dogma, (2) exploitation and infiltration of civil rights movements, and (3) the silencing of anti-communist voices. In recent months, the fruits of communist seed planted across America have been blossoming forth on campuses, in the streets, and in left-wing periodicals.

In recently released testimony given before the House Appropriations Committee, Mr. Hoover officially revealed the communist orientation of the student demonstrations at the University of California. He stated that 43 individuals with communist backgrounds, five of them being professors and all being connected with the University, played active roles in the explosive developments.

Mr. Hoover laid bare communist actions for pumping propaganda at college campuses, recruiting new members, and establishing front group operations. He particularly deplored the increasing number of lectures being presented on campuses by leading Communist Party officials. Given special attention by Mr. Hoover was the new communist-organized W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America. He said this organization 'is designed to attract youth interested in peace, disarmament, civil rights, and the like.'

The progress of the communist efforts to exploit and infiltrate civil rights groups has been astounding. This has even been publicly acknowledged by concerned "liberal" columnists. I placed in the Congressional Record of May 20 a news-letter of the American Flag Committee setting forth in 1956 the Communist Party's detailed plan for causing a voting rights crisis in early 1965, a civil rights

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*Strom*

JUN 7 1965

Sincerely,

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Court decisions

years because internal security laws have been rendered impotent by legislation Communist and front groups have been able to get too recent investigating the Radical Left for purposes of considering new internal security all-powerful centralized bureaucracy. The Congress is past due in thoroughly its revolutionary aim of leveling all Americans to a common plane under an The number one enemy of the American way of life is the Radical Left with party has streamlined its structure in preparation for operating more openly. socialism as a cure for domestic problems, such as civil rights and poverty, the convinced that a large segment of the population is ready to accept some form of major victories in its efforts to nullify the Internal Security Act of 1950, and in America "Encouraged by recent court decisions which the party considers Here is Mr Hoover's frank evaluation of communist plans for further progress than the communist across the country that the real enemy of America is the anti-communist rather ment agencies and left-wing news media. Indeed, the false idea has been planted as never before. They are being harassed, smeared, and investigated by govern- Anti-communist individuals and groups are on the defensive in the U. S. today aggression together in pacifist demonstrations against U. S. policies resisting communist demonstrators involved in the Selma provocations have been found working recent weeks--and at the White House, too---is because many of the same beatnik One of the reasons why the public ardor for civil disobedience has cooled in work with civil rights organizations U.S.A., youths will be asked to go to the South during the summer of 1965 to New York City in the summer of 1965. In addition, certain Communist Party, Negro youth He added: "The party plans to hold a training school for youth in rights, Mr. Hoover told the committee of a recruitment drive now underway among In testifying on present operations of the communists in the area of civil the tactics and turning almost perfectly. subverting the powers of State and local governments The newsletter forecast and civil disobedience to stampede Congress into enacting Red proposals for fight over public accommodations in 1964, and the employment of demonstrations

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A WILLIS ROBERTSON, VA , CHAIRMAN  
JOHN SPARKMAN, ALA.  
PAUL H DOUGLAS, ILL.  
WILLIAM PROXMIRE, WIS  
HARRISON A WILLIAMS, JR , N J  
EDMUND S MUSKIE, MAINE  
EDWARD V LONG, MO  
MAURINE B NEUBERGER, OREG  
THOMAS J MCINTYRE, N H  
WALTER F MONDALE, MINN

WALLACE F BENNETT, UTAH  
JOHN G TOWER,  
STROM THURMOND  
BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER, IOWA

MATTHEW HALE, CHIEF OF STAFF

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

June 2, 1965

Mr Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Department of Justice  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Your nice letter of May 27 was received upon my  
return to the office after being in South Carolina  
over the weekend.

I enjoyed attending the graduation exercises of the  
FBI National Academy on May 26. It is always a  
pleasure to hear you speak, and I especially wish  
to thank you for the kind words you had to say about  
me.

It is very thoughtful of you to send me copies of the  
photographs taken after the ceremonies, and the two  
South Carolina graduates and I appreciate your  
kindness in arranging for these pictures.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

*Strom Thurmond*  
Strom Thurmond

ST:r

62-52026-  
11 JUN 8 1965

REC-109

EXP. PROC.

JUN -7 1965

33

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO The Director

DATE 8-27-65

FROM N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT The Congressional Record

*STRUCK*  
Pages 2133-2143. Senator Thurmond, (R) South Carolina, spoke concerning the recent riots in Los Angeles. He placed in the Record his newsletter dated May 3, 1965, entitled "Insurrection by Nonviolent Provocations," a series of three newsletters he prepared on the subject of crime and the responsibility of the U.S. Supreme Court for its part in spurring the increase in our soaring crime rate in recent years, and two of his newsletters dealing with Communism in the civil rights movement. Mr. Thurmond, in the last two

newsletters, quoted from Mr. Hoover's testimony before the House Appropriations Committee. Thurmond stated "FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has confirmed in testimony before the House Appropriations Committee that 'Communist influence does exist in the Negro movement.' - - - Given special attention by Mr. Hoover was the new Communist-organized W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America. He said this organization 'is designed to attract youth interested in peace, disarmament, civil rights, and the like.'" Mr. Thurmond also included several newspaper items with his remarks.

REC-3

62-52026-84

SEP 2 1965

SEP 2 1965 XEROX

ORIGINAL FILED IN 66-1731-216

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 8-26-65 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

66 SEP 8 1965

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DATE 01-10-2005 BY [redacted]

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : J. F. Bland

SUBJECT

[redacted]  
ESPIONAGE - X

Office of Origin: New York

1 - Mr. Belmont

1 - Mr. Sullivan

1 - [redacted]

DATE 7/31/65

1 - [redacted]

1 - Mr. Bland

1 - [redacted]

Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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b7C

b6  
b7C

At 1:55 p.m., July 31, 1965, [redacted] of Washington Field Office telephonically advised Supervisor J Harold Glascock, who was on duty in the Domestic Intelligence Division, that Washington Field Office source [redacted] has furnished the following information in addition to that which [redacted] furnished the Bureau on the night of July 30, 1965, from the same source in captioned matter:

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b2

Washington Field Office Agents have determined that one [redacted]

is employed currently in the [redacted]

[redacted] and that he would have access to the file of that Department which records the arrests on felonies and misdemeanors of persons employed by the United States Government. It, therefore, appears that Washington Field Office has successfully identified the [redacted] whose last name was previously unknown.

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The source has further advised Washington Field Office on July 31, 1965, [redacted] and some friends had a big argument on the night of July 30, 1965, and consumed a large amount of liquor. The source determined that it was because of this that [redacted] called off the meeting previously scheduled for the night of July 30, 1965. The source also learned that the meeting between [redacted] has been rescheduled for the night of July 31, 1965, at which time the file in question will apparently be transferred.

ORIGINAL FILED IN

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In view of the above identification, Washington Field Office does not presently plan to cover the newly scheduled meeting on the night of July 31, 1965, but is in the process of carefully reviewing the material furnished by the source in detail and will keep the Bureau informed of any new developments.

ACTION:

6 AUG 10-1965

At 3:30 p.m., July 31, 1965, Assistant Director W. C. Sullivan was telephonically advised of the above developments in this case and that a memorandum was being prepared in confirmation thereof.

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JHG:plh 10(7)73

SEE ADDENDUMS. PAGE TWO AND THREE

Memorandum Bland to Sullivan  
RE: FRANK A. CAPELL

ADDENDUM: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION BAW:plh 8/1/65

Special Agent [redacted] Washington Field Office advised on 8/1/65 that Agents had observed a Police Department truck driving through the Esso Service Center on Pennsylvania Avenue at approximately 12:15 a.m. on 8/1/65. [redacted] was not at the station at that time. A few minutes later, after the truck had left, a car bearing Virginia [redacted] was observed at the far end of the Service Center. The Police Department truck returned; however, the drivers of the two vehicles were not observed together. Subsequently, a car bearing Virginia license [redacted] was observed to park at First and C, Northeast, in front of the Senate Building. A few minutes later the car previously observed at the Service Center picked up the driver of this car and was seen to enter the ramp of the Senate Office Building. Virginia license [redacted]

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Memorandum Bland to Sullivan  
RE: FRANK A. CAPELL

ADDENDUM: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION HHW:plh 8/1/65

Special Agent [redacted] Washington Field Office advised at 4:45 p.m., 8/1/65, that [redacted] advised at 1:50 p.m., 8/1/65 that [redacted] spoke to [redacted]

[redacted] They talked about their operation last night (July 31, 1965). [redacted] stated they got between two hundred and three hundred names. During their conversation, [redacted] indicated they were going to try to keep the operation active until the next general election. He stated that by that time they should have some "wheat" from this operation. During the conversation they spoke of [redacted] who is currently employed [redacted] indicating that in future operations like last night it might be possible that [redacted] could run off himself the copies necessary. [redacted] stated possibly he should introduce [redacted] like he did [redacted] up there (probably refers to the Senate). Later, [redacted] indicated he would introduce [redacted] to Thurmond (probably Strom Thurmond the Senator) and [redacted] in discussing what was obtained last night [redacted] said he had not had time to review all the material but the material did contain information as to one [redacted] who is on the staff of the committee. [redacted] asked who in Muskie's office was notified (this may indicate [redacted] is assigned in Senator Edmund S. Muskie's office). [redacted] spoke concerning an unknown at National Aeronautics and Space Administration who is apparently still employed there as a personnel specialist. This appears to indicate that someone with a police record is still employed at National Aeronautics and Space Administration which [redacted] said was good. [redacted] also stated he (identity unknown) has been photographed through a two-way mirror by the Soviets. From their conversation it appears such applies to the fellow mentioned-above who is employed at National Aeronautics and Space Administration. It was stated they probably have more men out there (probably at National Aeronautics and Space Administration, who they are was not indicated). [redacted] said he did not find a record on the Jap boy (this probably applies to someone at the Army installation at Fort Holabird). Special Agent [redacted] advised they are still processing material from [redacted] and the Bureau would be kept informed of new developments.

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At 5:30 p.m., August 1, 1965, Assistant Director W. C. Sullivan was telephonically advised of the above developments.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT DATE 01-10-2005 BY [REDACTED]

# Memorandum

for  
DeLoach  
Casper  
Callahan  
Conrad  
Felt  
Gale  
Rosen  
Sullivan  
Tavel  
Trotter  
Tele. Room

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE : July 30, 1965

FROM : Mr. J. A. Sizoo

SUBJECT : FRANK A. CAPELL  
ESPIONAGE - X

Information had previously been developed that an individual, [REDACTED] had allegedly made arrangements with an individual of the Metropolitan Police Department to take a file from the Police Department relating to sex cases and thereafter Xerox this file in the office of Senator Strom Thurmond. The unknown individual in the Police Department was known as [REDACTED]

On 7-30-65 [REDACTED] Washington Field Office, telephonically advised Night Supervisor [REDACTED] that [REDACTED] advised on 7-29-65 that [REDACTED] contacted [REDACTED] to tell him [REDACTED] believed to be unknown subject [REDACTED] that the operation was off because "the machine was broken" but that maybe it would be on again tomorrow.

[REDACTED] then contacted [REDACTED] (LNU) and told this person to tell [REDACTED] believed to be [REDACTED] that [REDACTED] will not need the key tonight.

It was believed that [REDACTED] of Senator Strom Thurmond's office, was to get a key to Thurmond's office for use in connection with this operation.

Supervisor [REDACTED] advised that Washington Field Office will cover this matter tomorrow unless information is otherwise received.

## ACTION:

For information.

TJS:chs (7)

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. J.A. Sizoo
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

162-52026-  
NOT RECORDED  
191 AUG 11 1965

6 AUG 10 1965

ORIGINAL FILED IN 154

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b7C

b6  
b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*Handwritten:* 30 July 1965

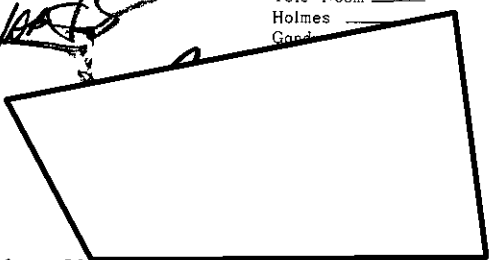
DATE September 15, 1965

TO Mr. Mohr

FROM C. D. DeLoach

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-18-85 BY SP-7 mce/BJB  
#236,334

SUBJECT SENATOR STROM THURMOND  
(R-SOUTH CAROLINA)



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At Senator Thurmond's request, I went to his office at 4:00 p.m. 9/14/65 for an appointment. I was advised [redacted]

[redacted] that the Senator had called over from the Floor to indicate he must attend a Republican Party policy meeting which former Vice President Nixon would supervise. The assistants indicated that they would appreciate talking to me and that the Senator and I could get together at another time.

*Handwritten:* 10-1  
7A

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[redacted] showed me two newspaper articles representing releases which Senator Thurmond had put out over the weekend criticizing Martin Luther King for injecting himself into matters of foreign policy at the United Nations. These releases also criticized Ambassador Goldberg for giving King an audience.

[redacted] told me that it was a matter of common knowledge on the Hill that King [redacted] He stated it was also widely understood that King was controlled by communists in this country. [redacted] stated he had been present when one powerful leader of the Senate a few days ago told a group of newspaper men, off the record, of these facts.

*Handwritten:* 100-42674-181  
100-42674-34074

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b7C

[redacted] asked me if there was a concerted effort on the part of the FBI to discredit King. I told [redacted] that such matters were beyond our jurisdiction. He then replied that he felt someone, particularly a Senator, should expose King. I told him this of course was the prerogative of any of the Senators, however, they should do their homework well. [redacted] mentioned that he felt that King had gone too far in attempting to inject himself into matters of foreign policy. He stated he felt there would be a wide reaction on the part of the American public.

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[redacted] asked if I could give him any advice as to what course of action Senator Thurmond should follow in the future regarding statements concerning King and civil rights leaders in general. I told him that the Senator, being a southerner, would no doubt be considered subject to bias and suspicion in any statements he might make, however, this was all the more reason why the Senator should be very careful about doing his homework.

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- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Jones

Continued on next page..

CDD:amr (6)

55 OCT 1 1965

EX-103

REC 19

5 SEP 27 1965

CRIME RESEARCH

DeLoach to Mohr Memo, 9/15/65  
Re: Senator Strom Thurmond

[ ] told me Senator Thurmond had widely used the Director's testimony before the Appropriations Subcommittee, particularly concerning the establishment of Soviet Consulates in the United States. At this point, I told [ ] that while the Director definitely maintained his original position, it should be carefully understood that the Director had not injected himself into matters of legislation. I told him that the Director's remarks were made on March 4, 1965, prior to consideration being given to ratification of the agreement concerning Soviet Consulates.

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For record purposes.

*Wm* *[Signature]* *V.* *ERL*



November 12, 1965

REC-19 62-52026

Honorable Strom Thurmond  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C. 20510

NOV 12 5 00 PM '65  
FBI  
READING ROOM

My dear Senator:

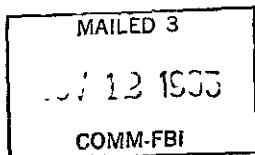
I received your letter of November 9th, with enclosure, and the concern prompting your communication is indeed understood.

With respect to violations of this type, you may be assured that this Bureau is ever aware of its obligations in these matters and will continue to do everything within its power to discharge its responsibilities with the highest degree of dispatch and thoroughness. In this regard, the FBI, as an investigative agency, cannot make these arrests unless ~~the Attorney General~~ the Attorney General.

Your offer to be of assistance is certainly appreciated and should you have any additional question it is suggested that you communicate with the ~~Attorney General~~ directly.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



RECEIVED-CAVE  
NOV 12 4 21 PM '65  
FBI

1 - Savannah - Enclosures (2)

NOTE: Senator Thurmond is on the Special Correspondents' List. The Special Investigative Division advised that the facts of this instant matter have been submitted to the Department.

DTP:csd

(6)

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

WILLIAMS 1724

DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

RICHARD B. RUSSELL, GA, CHAIRMAN  
JOHN STENNIS, MISS  
HARRY FLOOD BYRD, VA  
STUART SYMINGTON, MO  
HENRY M. JACKSON, WASH  
SAM J. ERVIN, JR., NC  
HOWARD W. CANNON, NEV  
ROBERT C. BYRD, W. VA  
STEPHEN M. YOUNG, OHIO  
DANIEL K. INOUE, HAWAII  
THOMAS J. MCINTYRE, NH  
DANIEL B. BREWSTER, MD  
LEVERETT SALTONSTADT, MAINE  
MARGARET CHASE SMITH, VT  
STROM THURMOND, S  
JACK MILLER, IOWA  
JOHN G. TOWER, TEX

WILLIAM H. DARDEN, CHIEF OF STAFF  
CHARLES B. KIRBOW, CHIEF CLERK

# United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

November 9, 1965

Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. Belmont ✓  
Mr. Mohr ✓  
Mr. DeLoach ✓  
Mr. Casper ✓  
Mr. Callahan ✓  
Mr. Conrad ✓  
Mr. Felt ✓  
Mr. Gale ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Sullivan ✓  
Mr. Tavel ✓  
Mr. Trotter ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Miss Holmes ✓  
Miss Gandy ✓

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

In the Sunday Star of November 7, 1965, page A-2 there appears a picture of several students preparing to burn their draft cards at a demonstration in New York City.

Of course, you know that these people are in violation of a Federal Law which prohibits such an act, and I hope that you will vigorously and speedily bring these men to the attention of the Justice Department for proper and prompt prosecution.

If there is any way in which my office can be of assistance to your department, please call on me. I feel that we must make immediate response to these "slackers" in order to preserve the morale of our fighting men in Viet-Nam and support the war effort.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely,

*Strom Thurmond*  
Strom Thurmond

ST:je

EXP. PROC.  
39 NOV 10 1965

REC-19 62-52026-86

NOV 10 1965

CORRESPONDENCE

ENCLOSURE

ack 11/12/65 OTP:cd



Pacifists Thomas Cornell, Marc Edelman, Roy Lisker, James Wilson and David McReynolds (left to right) prepare to burn their draft cards

at a demonstration yesterday in New York City. McReynolds ducks as a counter-demonstrator squirts them with water.—AP Photo.

## 2,000 Cheer, Pickets Jeer As Five Burn Draft Cards

NEW YORK (AP)—Five men burned what they said were their draft cards at a pacifist rally attended by about 2,000 persons in Union Square Park yesterday.

There was applause as the cards went up in flames, and most of the crowd joined in singing "We Shall Overcome."

There were some counterdemonstrators in the crowd. One

crushed around them, saying they wanted a more dignified setting.

Yesterday's ceremony was held on a wooden speakers' platform erected in the park. The sponsoring groups had obtained a police permit for the meeting.

Union Square, at 14th Street and Broadway, has long been a favorite spot for political orato-

ing but no arrests were imminent.

The new law signed Aug. 30 by President Johnson, provides a maximum penalty of five years in prison and a \$10,000 fine.

The first man charged under it is David J. Miller, 22, Syracuse, N.Y., who was freed in \$500 bond on a charge of burning his draft card in front of the Army induction center.

ENCLOSURE

62 - 52026

36

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [redacted]

b6  
b7c

FBI

Date. 11/9/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR  
FROM : SAC, PHILADELPHIA (157-NEW)(C)

*Bled*  
1007

SUBJECT: PROTEST DEMONSTRATION BY CORE  
AND NAACP, 11/7/65, DURING  
SPEECH OF SENATOR STROM THURMOND,  
PHILADELPHIA, PA.  
RM

*0*

*Re my teletypes*

Re my teletypes 11/7/65 and 11/5/65 entitled,  
"VIDEM, PLANNED DEMONSTRATION, 11/7/65, OF PHILADELPHIA  
AREA COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM."

Enclosed for the Bureau are 8 copies of a self-  
explanatory letterhead memo. Information copies furnished  
OSI, ONI, INTC, Secret Service, and USA, EDPA, locally.

No further investigation being conducted.

5 - Bureau(ENCL. 8)(REGISTERED MAIL)

3 -

(PROTEST DEMONSTRATION BY CORE AND  
NAACP, 11/7/65, DURING SPEECH OF  
SENATOR STROM THURMOND, PHILA., PA.)

1 -

(CORE)

1 -

(NAACP)

3 - Philadelphia

1 - 157-NEW

ENCLOSURE

1 - 100-33785

(CORE)

1 - 100-9973

(NAACP)

JRW:rdc  
(8)

8. ENCLOSURE

Agency G-2, ONI, CSI, CRD

NOV 15 1965

Date Forw. ....

How Forw. 77-5

*157-6-37-*

*62-52026-*  
18 NOV 18 1965

NOT RECORDED

178 NOV 16 1965

SUP

*157-6-37-1685*

ORIGINAL FILED IN

F16

Approved.

By *JCT-mch*

Special Agent in Charge

M

Per



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

November 9, 1965

PROTEST DEMONSTRATION BY  
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE) AND  
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCE-  
MENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP),  
NOVEMBER 7, 1965, DURING SPEECH  
OF SENATOR STROM THURMOND,  
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

On November 7, 1965, [REDACTED] Philadel-  
phia Police Department Radio, advised that approximately 20  
demonstrators from CORE and the NAACP protested the appearance at  
the Irvine Auditorium, 34th and Spruce Streets, University of Penn-  
sylvania, Philadelphia, on November 7, 1965, of Senator STROM  
THURMOND (Republican), South Carolina. The demonstrators marched  
outside the hall from 12:30 p.m. until 2:30 p.m.

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Senator THURMOND made a speech before an audience in  
which he said the citizens of the United States are not being  
given the full facts on national security. As an example, he  
pointed out that facts are withheld by the Defense Department as  
to the United States' intentions in Vietnam. Eighteen months ago,  
the Secretary of Defense said that the United States expected to  
withdraw troops from Vietnam beginning in January 1965, whereas  
since the statement, the United States has sent additional men  
to Vietnam.

CORE and the NAACP picketed against Senator THURMOND be-  
cause he is not pressing for voter registration reform in his home  
state, South Carolina.

This document contains neither recommendations nor con-  
clusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the prop-  
erty of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your  
agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your  
agency.

ENCLOSURE

62-52024-

DO-6

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

September 7, 1965

The attached releases were sent to  
the Director from Senator Strom  
Thurmond. Reference is made to  
the FBI on pages 1 and 2 of the  
September 2 release and on page 1  
of the August 17 release.

nm

MR TOLSON ✓  
MR BELMONT ✓  
MR MOHR ✓  
MR DELOACH ✓  
MR CASPER ✓  
MR CALLAHAN  
MR CONRAD  
MR FELT  
MR GALE  
MR ROSEN  
MR SULLIVAN  
MR TAVEL  
MR TROTTER  
MR JONES  
TELE ROOM  
MISS HOLMES  
MRS METCALF  
MISS GANDY

United States Senate

from the desk of  
87-48 REC-48 62-52026 87  
Senator Strom Thurmond

16 DEC 13 1965

ST-101

no ack  
Recd 12/13/65  
8/ power

"ENCLOSURE ATTACHED"

ENCLOSURE

60 DEC 17 1965

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY

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b7C

62-111687

IMMEDIATELY  
SEPTEMBER 2, 1965

STATEMENT BY SENATOR STROM THURMOND (R-SC) MADE ON SENATE FLOOR ON  
SEPTEMBER 2, 1965.

MR. PRESIDENT:

The recent insurrection in Los Angeles with all of its ugliness, heartache, and material and human losses has at least brought forward for public consideration the concept of civil disobedience and some of its worse ramifications and also the falsity of charges of so-called police brutality.

In previous statements on the Senate floor, I have discussed the matter of civil disobedience which all objective analyses of the Los Angeles insurrection credit as being the primary cause of the insurrection in Los Angeles.

Today I present for the consideration of my colleagues some important facts and figures on the question of so-called police brutality. These figures have been supplied by the United States Department of Justice and also the Federal Bureau of Investigation and have been printed in the September 6, 1965, issue of U. S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT. They illustrate very clearly that the charge of police brutality is being used as a shield for criminal activities and for giving greater impetus to acts of civil disobedience. For instance, the Department of Justice figures show that between mid-1964 and mid-1965 1700 complaints of police brutality were referred to the FBI. Included in these figures were so-called civil rights complaints in the South. Of these 1700 complaints, only 47 cases were found to



be worthy to be presented to federal grand juries for consideration, and only 5 of these cases led to convictions in federal courts.

On the other side of the ledger, here are some facts and figures from the FBI on the brutality of criminals and those engaging in acts of civil disobedience as directed at police officers in this country. In 1964, 57 policemen were murdered, raising to 197 the number of policemen who have been murdered in the last 4 years. In fact, during the period that we have been having these acts of civil disobedience, the number of policemen murdered annually in the line of duty has doubled.

Other FBI figures show that 124 policemen have been killed in accidents during the last 4 years, 18000 or one out of every 10 policemen in this country were assaulted<sup>in 1964</sup>, and 7,738 policemen were injured in assaults in 1964.

Chicago, the city which has been rocked with civil disobedience riots, has had 289 complaints filed against police thus far this year. Of these, after investigation, 274 were judged "unfounded" or "not sustained." Of the 15 remaining cases, 8 resulted in "exoneration" of the policemen involved and 7 charges were sustained with the officers being disciplined. In a previous year, 351 complaints were filed and only 4 were sustained by investigation.

Mr. President, the term "police brutality" has become an overworked slogan which has given the green light in this country to insurrection, riots, increased criminal activities, and the breakdown in law and order which we find today to be disrupting our country.

In Los Angeles the cry of "brutality" was heard frequently before the recent lethal outburst in that city. The RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH has pointed out in an excellent editorial on this subject on

August 19, 1965, some very pertinent observations which I ask unanimous consent to be printed in the Record at the conclusion of these remarks.

Mr. President, I particularly call attention of my colleagues to two important paragraphs in the editorial from the RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH which bear on this situation right here in Washington, where we are now being threatened by the President and his principal leader, Martin Luther King, that if home rule is not voted immediately we will have demonstrations, riots, and possibly an insurrection in the streets of Washington. Here are these two paragraphs:

"Nearer home, in Washington, D. C., 'brutality' is frequently alleged. But the police there have been attacked so regularly by mobs that they hesitate to carry out their duties. Take the riot in Washington on the night of August 5. A mob of rock-throwing Negro hoodlums broke up a carnival, injuring nearly 100 people, including nine policemen.

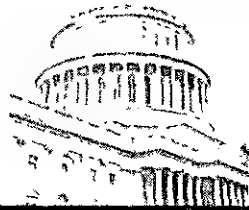
"But here is the amazing fact: not one single arrest was made! An officer sought to explain by saying that 'it was raining rocks' when he arrived. Furthermore, 'the minute we got there we realized it would be impossible to make even one arrest without touching off a full-scale riot.' Another officer put it this way: 'We had to disperse the people; arrests would have incited them even more.'"

Mr. President, as one who has always been interested in law enforcement and as one who has always had a great respect for law enforcement and the dangers encountered by our law officers, I feel very strongly that our law officers across this country should be commended instead of condemned for the overall exemplary manner in which they have performed their duties in protecting the public from

criminal, hoodlum, and rioting elements. I particularly praise the manner in which Police Chief <sup>William H.</sup> Parker has performed his duties in Los Angeles. He is generally recognized across the country as one of the finest law enforcement officers and as having built one of the best police forces in this nation. However, at this time, civil disobedience advocates, criminal elements and others are demanding that he be removed from his post on the trumped-up charges of police brutality when as a matter of fact these very people who are calling for his job have been the ones primarily responsible for the recent unfortunate events in Los Angeles.

Mr. President, I was recently in attendance at the American Legion Convention at Portland, Oregon. At the convention, Chief Parker of the Los Angeles Police Department delivered <sup>an outstanding address.</sup> This is one of the finest speeches I have ever read, and I was prepared to place this in the Congressional Record and found that the distinguished Senator from California (Mr. Murphy) had already planned to do so. To all who have not had an opportunity to read this address, Mr. President, I call attention to its insertion on page 21187 of the August 26 Record.

At the conclusion of these remarks, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an outstanding article from the September 6, 1965, issue of U. S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT entitled "Police "Brutality"--Fact or Fiction?" I also ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the facts and figures included in the insets in the article be printed at the conclusion of the article.



## STROM THURMOND

*reports*

### TO THE PEOPLE

Committees:

Armed Services  
Banking and Currency  
Republican Policy

Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee  
Appropriations Subcommittees on  
Defense and Military Construction

VOL. XI, NO. 32

Soaring Crime Statistics

AUGUST 16, 1965

"The rising crime rate in the United States is the nation's number one domestic problem " This headline reporting a recent speech of the President of the American Bar Association is but one of many news stories being stimulated by mushrooming crime statistics

Behind such headlines lie alarming circumstances Crime statistics compiled by the Federal Bureau of Investigation show that the rate of serious crimes in the United States is increasing 6 times as fast as the population growth. On the average, a murder, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, serious larceny, or automobile theft occurs every 15 seconds in the United States The annual increase in these serious crimes is 11% Leading the list is the crime of forcible rape with an annual increase of 20%.

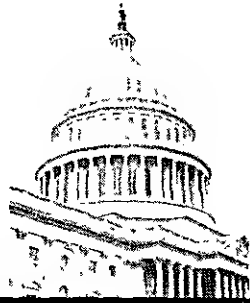
The FBI statistics also show that young people are responsible for a greatly disproportionate share of serious crimes Young people were involved in 48% of the arrests for serious crimes last year

This is only a part of the story, however. The FBI statistics also show that more than 95% of our young people do not become involved in crime

Underlying what might appear on the surface to be a contradiction in these statistics lies the root of the crime problem. Since 95% of our young people never become involved in crime, and yet young people are represented in 48% of the arrests for serious crime, it is readily apparent that the trouble is repeated offenses In fact, of all persons arrested last year, 76% were repeaters

Specific cases better illustrate the problem than statistics

In September, 1962, a 15-year-old boy named Spencer was released from a home for mental defectives in New York Previously, he had been arrested for setting fire to his home and for two sex assaults. In June, 1964, Spencer was arrested for rape of a 16-year-old girl at knife point However, he was released on \$500



# STROM THURMOND

*reports*

## TO THE PEOPLE

### Committees.

Armed Services  
Banking and Currency  
Republican Policy

Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee  
Appropriations Subcommittees on  
Defense and Military Construction

VOL. XI, NO. 33

Soaring Crime Rates---Part II

AUGUST 23, 1965

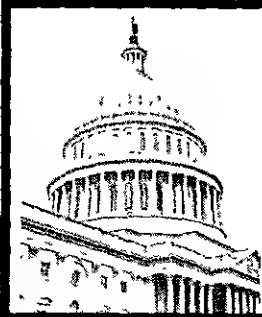
The soaring crime rates which confront American society have their main roots in the revolutionary changes in criminal law procedures which the Supreme Court has initiated by its decisions in recent years.

The direct effect is to release offenders to repeat their ravages on society. The indirect effect is to encourage would-be criminals to believe they can escape punishment for their crimes.

The revolutionary inversion of criminal justice procedures, which sacrifice the protection of society for unreasonable protection of defendants, has, so far, had its main impact in the following areas

Confessions Traditionally, the law has provided that a person cannot be forced to give evidence against himself. Accordingly, a confession would not be considered by the courts, or admitted in evidence, unless it was shown that the confession was voluntarily made. In the Mallory Case, the Supreme Court laid down a new rule, which provides generally that if there is "unnecessary" delay between the time a person is arrested and the time he is arraigned before a commissioner or judge, any confession made prior to arraignment cannot be considered by the court, regardless of whether it is voluntary. This change makes it virtually impossible for the confession of a criminal to be used in court.

Evidence Although the rules of evidence evolved in the Courts over several centuries are numerous, they were, until recently, aimed at admitting evidence of a character that was believable, related directly to the matter under inquiry, and considered to be the best evidence available on the matter sought to be proved. The Supreme Court has now imposed a broad new restriction on the admission of evidence, which has nothing to do with the usefulness or validity of the evidence itself. Under its "poison tree doctrine," the Supreme Court has held that evidence cannot be used if it was obtained by means which the court



## STROM THURMOND

*reports*

### TO THE PEOPLE

Committees:

Armed Services  
Banking and Currency  
Republican Policy

Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee  
Appropriations Subcommittees on  
Defense and Military Construction

VOL. XI, NO. 34

Soaring Crime Rates---Part III

AUGUST 30, 1965

The wall of protection which has been and is being erected by the Supreme Court to prevent the conviction and punishment of criminals by society is no coincidence. Almost simultaneously, there have emerged new barriers to convictions of criminals in the areas of confessions, evidence, counsel, police files, and insanity defenses.

The wellspring of these perversions of the criminal judicial procedure is the basic philosophy of contemporary "liberalism." This is the idea that society, rather than the individual, bears the responsibility for anti-social or criminal behavior.

Sociology texts have joined both the case books on the shelves of law libraries and the citations which appear in footnoted authorities for the rationale of court decisions. From the sociologist, the courts hear that crime is caused by environment and criminal attitudes produced by poverty and illiteracy. These deficiencies are said to be permitted to exist by society and are beyond the control of the offending individual.

From the ranks of psychiatry have flowed the same theories, with an even more disturbing tangent. Criminal behavior is traced to feelings of inferiority, guilt, and fear, which in turn, are said to cause immaturity and irrational thinking. The root of the complexes, down through all civilizations, is pinned on morality.

G. B. Chisolm, in delivering the William Alanson White Memorial Lecture in 1946, addressing himself to the cause of inferiority, guilt, and fear feelings, stated: "The only lowest common denominator of all civilizations and the only psychological force capable of producing these perversions is morality, the concept of right and wrong " Chisolm continued. "The re-interpretation and eventual eradication of the concept of right and wrong which has been the basis

*from the office of*

August 17, 1965

## U.S. Senator Strom Thurmond (R-SC)

STATEMENT BY SENATOR STROM THURMOND (R-SC) ON SENATE FLOOR,  
AUGUST 17, 1965.

MR. PRESIDENT:

Despite the fact that it is general knowledge that the rising domestic crime rate in the United States is the nation's number one problem, there appears to be all too little willingness in official circles to face up to the real causes of the problem.

It is not a matter of increasing population. The latest crime statistics show that the rate of serious crimes in the United States is increasing six times as fast as population growth.

The FBI statistics show that young people are responsible for a greatly disproportionate share of serious crimes. Young people were involved in 48% of the arrests for serious crimes last year. This is only a part of the story, however. Statistics also show that more than 95% of our young people do not become involved in crimes. The explanation of what might appear to be a conflict between these statistics lies in the fact that of all the persons arrested last year, 76% were repeaters. The rising crime rate is obviously due to the fact that those who are disposed to commit crimes, and do so, are being released by the courts back into the mainstream of society where they may and do continue to wreak a toll on the law-abiding and innocent members of society. The consequences of such crime phenomena are increasingly becoming obvious without

requirement for prognostication. In Los Angeles and Chicago over the weekend, crime reached the level of outright insurrection.

There were undoubtedly a number of factors which contributed to the immediate outbreak in Los Angeles. Foremost, I believe, among the causes is the attitude and belief among Negroes that mass lawlessness by them will be tolerated and condoned. This attitude is fostered by the prevailing policy of the President and high officials of Government to protect, tolerate, and encourage law-breaking mass demonstrations, particularly when they are committed in the South. Our nation cannot condone deliberate mass defiance of laws in a particular section of the country without undermining respect for law throughout the country.

Another major contributing factor to the attitude which prompted the outbreak in Los Angeles is the innumerable court opinions and decisions which have created such barriers to criminal convictions that they have encouraged a belief that even if one is brought to the bar of justice, he can readily escape punishment through legal technicalities.

One cannot eliminate Communist agitation as another factor in the Los Angeles riots. The prompt appearance of organized leadership among the rioters, proliferation of fire-bombs, commonly called MOLOTOV COCKTAILS, and the now all too familiar professional sniper techniques employed by the insurrectionists are all significant in this connection.

Mr. President, it is somewhat encouraging that at least some of the causes which I have mentioned are gradually, although belatedly, being recognized and voiced in the news media. For



instance, the lead editorial in The Evening Star of Saturday, August 14, entitled "Los Angeles Riots," included the following paragraphs:

"In short, the rule of law, to which so much lip service is paid, seems to be breaking down in Los Angeles and throughout the land. This is something which might properly concern the President's new commission on crime. What are the real reasons? Slums? Discrimination? Underprivilege? These doubtless are part of the story. We suggest, however, that the commission examine other possibilities. What is the effect on respect for law when prominent members of the clergy announce they will not obey a law if they disagree with it? What is the effect when the Supreme Court, as well as lower federal courts, overturn convictions for law violations on the flimsiest of bases, or, as in one instance, for no stated reason? Does this sort of thing encourage the hoodlum type to think that respect for law is for the birds? We think so."

"At any rate, it has become clear in Los Angeles that the rioters will give way to nothing except superior force. And in that event the superior force must be applied-- followed, one may hope, by severe punishment of those who may be found guilty of criminal activity."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the entirety of this editorial from The Evening Star be printed in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks.

One of the most scholarly, objective, and common sense analyses of the crime problem appeared in The News and Courier, of Charleston, South Carolina, on August 15, 1965. This article, entitled "Criminal Law Trends in the Emerging Welfare State," was written by W. L. Backus, a member of the bar of New York State. In this article, the author discusses both the legal and practical effects of recent court decisions which have tied the hands of police and prosecutors, such as the Mallory Rule; the Tainted Evidence Rule, better known as the Poison Tree Doctrine; the Gideon Doctrine, which expands the right to counsel; the changes in the insanity defense from the McNaughton Rule to the Durham Rule; and the series of decisions which began with the Jencks Case, giving criminal defendants access to the files of police and prosecutors. Particularly at this time when the D. C. crime bill is pending on the calendar, it would be well worthwhile for all Senators to have the benefit of this outstanding article. I ask unanimous consent that this article, entitled "Criminal Law Trends in the Emerging Welfare State," be printed in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks.

Mr. President, the courts have lost sight of the reason and purpose of criminal trials. In setting up a veritable legal thicket to protect persons accused of crimes, the federal appellate courts apparently have forgotten that the purpose of the trial is to determine the guilt or innocence of the accused. In addition, many judges apparently ignore the fact that our criminal laws are enacted primarily for the protection of society rather than just for the protection of criminals.

Mr. President, if the nation is to escape the ultimate fate of complete anarchy, there must be a return to common sense in the high official positions of the National Government.

The law, and the entirety of the law, must be applied to all persons strictly, without regard to race. Negro citizens, and those in positions of influence who have been encouraging them to defy the law, must be shown that they are not exempted from obeying the law in any part of the country, whether they act individually or in mobs. It is also time to enforce the laws prohibiting incitement to riot.

The perversion of our judicial procedures to favor criminals and render society helpless must be rectified. The Congress has a responsibility to take whatever action is necessary to insure that judicial procedures are reinstated which protect society and to so discipline the federal courts that they must exercise judicial restraint, or in other words, stop legislating.

Last, but not least, the Congress has a responsibility to investigate and make public the degrees of infiltration of the Communists into the civil rights and other movements engaged in direct action programs to subvert the social and political structure, as well as the foreign policy objectives of the nation.

These, Mr. President, are the imperatives in meeting the nation's number one domestic problem.

November 9, 1966

Honorable Strom Thurmond  
United States Senator  
Aiken, South Carolina 29801

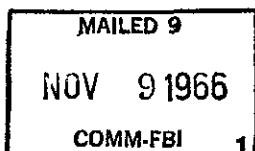
My dear Senator:

I was indeed glad to hear that you were re-elected to the United States Senate. I am dropping you this note to let you know that we of the FBI deeply appreciate all of the fine things you have done for us, and if at any time in the future we can be of service to you, do not hesitate to call on us.

With assurance of my highest esteem  
and best regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



1 - Columbia

NOTE: Senator Thurmond is on the Special Correspondents' List. He was congratulated upon his election to the Senate in 1954 and resigned in 1956 to put office on the ballot. Letters were sent to him congratulating him upon his re-elections in 1956 and 1960. (R-S.C.)

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ED STATES GOVERNMENT  
RANDUM

DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 12/1/65

SAC, Savannah

JECT: STROM THURMOND  
SAC CONTACT  
COLUMBIA DIVISION

FILE NO: 62-52026  
SAVANNAH FILE NO: 80-471  
COLUMBIA FILE NO: 80-282

Due to the opening of the Columbia Office, the following action is being taken in captioned matter:

LOCATION OF FILE

1. ( x ) Entire file transferred to Columbia herewith.
2. ( ) File transferred to Columbia except one copy following serials retained at Savannah:
3. ( ) File retained at Savannah but one copy of following serials transferred to Columbia:

B. OFFICE OF ORIGIN

( ) Savannah  
( x ) Columbia  
( )                     

C. STATUS

( ) PENDING  
( ) RUC to Columbia  
( x ) Closed to Columbia

1 - Bureau  
1 - Columbia  
1 - Savannah  
BWS: SJJ  
(3)

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the SJJ  
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CRIMINAL JUSTICE

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NA



UNITED STATES SENATE  
WASHINGTON, D C

STROM THURMOND  
SOUTH CAROLINA

November 16, 1966

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Wick	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
U. S. Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Thank you for your message congratulating  
me upon my re-election to the United States  
Senate.

I deeply appreciate your interest in my race,  
and it was gratifying to hear from you.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely,

*Strom Thurmond*

Strom Thurmond

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August 23, 1967

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113 July

Honorable Strom Thurmond  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C. 20510

My dear Senator:

It was indeed kind of you to write on August 21st and furnish me the tear sheet from the August 18th "Congressional Record" which sets forth your remarks and those which appeared in an editorial of a Columbia newspaper.

The very generous comments which were expressed are indeed a source of encouragement to me. You may be certain I appreciate your thoughtfulness.

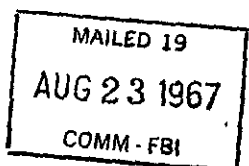
With warmest regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

✓

P/B



1 - Columbia

NOTE: Senator Thurmond is on the Special Correspondents' List.

HRH:rIf (4)

2 SEP 26 1967

RICHARD B. RUSSELL, GA, CHAIRMAN  
JOHN STENNIS, MISS  
HARRY FLOOD BYRD, VA  
STUART SYMINGTON, MO  
HENRY M. JACKSON, WASH  
SAM J. ERVIN, JR., NC  
HOWARD W. CANNON, NEV  
ROBERT C. BYRD, W. VA  
STEPHEN M. YOUNG, OHIO  
DANIEL K. INOUE, HAWAII  
THOMAS J. MCINTYRE, NH  
DANIEL B. BREWSTER, MD  
LEVERETT SALTONSTADT, MASS  
MARGARET CHASE SMITH, MAINE  
STROM THURMOND, SC  
JACK MILLER, IOWA  
JOHN G. TOWER, TEX

WILLIAM H. DARDEN, CHIEF OF STAFF  
CHARLES B. KIRKOW, CHIEF CLERK

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

August 21, 1967

son	✓
Loach	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I am pleased to call to your attention an editorial which appeared in the Columbia STATE offering you many fine compliments. I had it reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on Friday. The tearsheet is enclosed. It is always a great pleasure to offer such sentiments wider distribution.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely,

*Strom Thurmond*  
Strom Thurmond

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August 18, 1967

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

A 4215

The indisputable fact is that millions of social security beneficiaries are being left behind, as our national economy produces greater and greater abundance. Millions who now rely on social security for their support have been unable to enjoy the marvelous advances made by the world's most productive and prolific economy. They have had to live in the midst of ever-increasing abundance without sharing in that abundance. They have had to get along on less and less while their friends and neighbors have been enjoying more and more. In too many instances, they have been forced to live in a state of poverty.

To be able to live at a base subsistence level today, an individual must have an income of \$125 a month, while a couple must have \$154 a month. Yet the average social security benefits paid today are only \$84 a month for retired workers, \$142 a month for retired couples, and \$74 a month for elderly widows.

The plain and unforgettable fact is that 5.2 million elderly Americans live below the minimum poverty level—and, of these, 4.3 million are social security beneficiaries.

Thus a meaningful increase in benefits is essential to the economic well-being of those presently receiving benefits. And such an increase, now, will help to insure the adequacy of social security when millions of Americans begin receiving payments—and relying on those payments—in the years ahead.

I wish to commend the committee for giving us the possibility of moving our social security system another step toward the adequacy it must have to fulfill its purpose today. We cannot, I believe, overlook our responsibility in this task. The dictates of both good sense and good conscience require us to support this increase in benefit payments.

I would like to comment on another aspect of the bill before us today. When the social security program was enacted in 1935, it provided a wage base of \$3,000 which, in those days, was sufficient to cover 95 percent of all taxable earnings. From time to time over the years, the base has been raised, but it has not kept pace with rising incomes in recent years.

If the base were to remain at \$6,600 a year, by 1974 only 67 percent of those working in covered employment will have all their earnings covered.

Yet we must remember that social security—in addition to providing disability, survivor's, and health insurance protection—is the Nation's basic retirement protection system. We must, therefore, make it possible for more workers to become eligible for benefits that are more closely related to their full earnings.

The wage base could be described as the backbone of our social security system. There can be no substantial doubt that the base must be raised.

The bill takes us a step in the right direction, by providing an increase to \$7,600 a year. With the increase, we will be able to provide improved protection not only for those soon to come on the rolls but for all younger workers who will draw benefits in the decades ahead.

A shortcoming in this bill is that it does not raise the wage base to the level

proposed by the President. He asked for a base of \$10,800 a year, an average of \$900 a month income. I am certain we will arrive at this base in the years immediately before us. I would like to see it accomplished now. As I have said, the base is the system's backbone. Not only does it affect a worker's contributions to the system, it also plays a determining role in setting the level of benefits he will get from the system.

When we recall that social security is no longer just a retirement system, when we recall that today it protects 87 out of 100 workers against the risk of disability, and 95 out of 100 mothers and their children against the hazard of the family breadwinner's early death—and when we add to it the great system of Medicare—I believe we cannot escape the conclusion that the backbone of such an all-embracing and all-important insurance system must be strong enough to fulfill our needs for today and tomorrow.

In short, I would like to see more of this Nation's people and payroll become eligible to participate in our basic insurance system.

In one respect, I am disappointed that the bill on which the distinguished committee worked so hard did not provide for greater benefit increases in line with those which were proposed in my own social security bill. The legislation which I introduced calling for raising minimum benefits from the present \$44 to \$90 per month. In addition, I also proposed an average overall increase of 50 percent in benefit payments.

Two additional features important to the long-range development of social security contained in my bill and omitted by the committee were the provisions for an automatic adjustment of benefits to meet changes in the cost of living, and for benefits to be financed partly out of general tax revenues. The adequacy of the social security program in the past has been seriously weakened because the benefits have remained more or less stationary, while the cost of living has risen. Under my bill, the benefits granted by Congress would continue to keep abreast of inflationary trends, rather than merely make up for what has been lost.

My bill provides a formula whereby equal amounts will, for the first time, be contributed out of general revenues beginning in fiscal year 1969. By 1977, general revenues would finance 35 percent of the social security system. Attempting to meet all of the social security costs by means of a payroll tax would be regressive taxation and put a disproportionate burden on those we are trying to help most, and those least able to meet such a burden. Financing cost in part from general revenues would represent progressive taxation, and would take advantage of the broadly based graduated individual and corporate tax structure and place more of the burden on those best able to pay.

While the committee's bill does not go as far as I would wish in raising benefits, and it does not contain the automatic increase and general financing provisions which I feel are vital to the growth of the social security system, it is nevertheless an important move in the right direction. I will, however, continue to do all I can

until those who depend upon social security as a primary source of income are guaranteed the minimum necessities of a decent life.

The most important element to keep before us is the enormous social and human good that comes from providing an adequate standard of living through the social security program, rather than supplementing deficient payments with relief and welfare subsidies. The measure we are now considering is a bill which will help secure this goal and behind which both parties may unite.

J. Edgar Hoover—Public Protector

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 18, 1967

Mr. THURMOND: Mr. President, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover is one of the most esteemed public officials of our generation. Every good American is thankful that for 50 years he has given outstanding service to the Justice Department and in particular for his unparalleled career with the FBI. It would be pointless for me to go on at length extolling the merits of this great citizen. An editorial entitled, "Public Protector," published in the Columbia State, one of South Carolina's leading newspapers, is a fine summary of the debt which we owe to Mr. Hoover.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

PUBLIC PROTECTOR

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has marked his 50th anniversary with the Justice Department. He was hired as a law clerk in the Alien Enemy Registration Section in 1917.

On May 10, 1924, Attorney General Harlan Fiske Stone designated Hoover acting director of the Bureau of Investigation. Today, at age 72, the burly, indefatigable lawman can look back upon service to the government under seven presidents and 15 attorneys general.

He has been called a dictator and a nuisance, mostly by dictators like Al Capone and nuisances like Gus Hall. His sanity has been questioned—by *The Worker*, official organ of the American Communist Party. He has survived run-ins with Martin Luther King and Bobby Kennedy.

Through it all, Hoover has simply gone on working every day of every week of every year. In 1964, by executive order, President Johnson waived his mandatory retirement.

Recently, quoting Thomas Jefferson, Hoover roundly declared: "The flames kindled on the 4th of July, 1776, have spread over too much of the globe to be extinguished by the feeble engines of despotism, on the contrary, they will consume these engines and all who work them."

It has been Hoover's never-ending task to wage war against despotic engines, whether associated with drugs, bootleg booze, counterfeit money, or the international Communist conspiracy.

We would like to think that Director Hoover could go on serving the nation, and

ENCLOSURE

the cause of man's freedom, indefinitely. But time will overtake him, as it must every man. Before it does, Congress should insure that his successor be a man equally dedicated to no-nonsense law enforcement and unyielding opposition to Communism.

There long has been pending legislation calling for Congressional approval of the next Director of the FBI. Knowing of the propensity of contemporary Presidents to play politics with high appointments, we hope that such confirmation will be required.

Skeptics may point out that, despite requirement for Senate confirmation, some sorry attorneys general have been inflicted upon the nation in recent years. Nevertheless, the members of Congress, as direct representatives of the people, should have some voice in approving the next Director of the FBI.

In our view, the man who holds that job is more important to the nation's protection than his nominal superior—the attorney general of the United States. Hoover certainly has been

response to my letter to the President of August 30, 1966, the President appointed a White House Task Force on Aircraft Noise headed by his Science Advisor Dr. Donald F. Hornig "to frame an action program to attack this problem." In his letter to me of June 5th, Dr. Hornig stated that passage of the pending noise abatement bill was "critically important."

The Administration noise abatement bill has been co-sponsored by more than 20 Members of the House and while my bill goes much further I believe the basic provisions authorizing the setting of noise standards can be implemented by administrative regulation. Section 307 of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 provides this authority to limit the use of navigable airspace "for the protection of persons and property on the ground."

In short the outlook for passage of the noise abatement bill is bleak and we cannot wait any longer to take the necessary action to alleviate the ever increasing problem of jet noise. I urge you to take administrative steps now to establish noise standards.

Sincerely,

HERBERT TENZER  
Member of Congress

Mr. Speaker, I have today received a response from the Secretary of Transportation which I want to call to the attention of my colleagues and which I include at this point in the RECORD.

THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION,  
Washington, D.C. August 16, 1967

HON. HERBERT TENZER,  
Member of Congress,  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. TENZER: Thank you for your letter of July 10, 1967 reviewing the current status of the aircraft noise problem and urging the Department to act to control aircraft noise under Section 307 of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958.

We would, of course, prefer to attack the problem of aircraft noise through rules for the certification of aircraft and aircraft equipment. We have been actively engaged in seeking meaningful international noise standards for aircraft equipment in close cooperation with the British and French Governments.

In the event, however, that Congress does not grant certification authority for noise abatement purposes, the Department of Transportation can establish operating rules under Section 307 of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958. Although I feel that such action is a poor substitute for certification authority because it does not include many of the incentives for quiet operation which can be built into certification rules, the Department of Transportation will take whatever action is possible and practicable within existing authority and technology.

Sincerely,

ALAN S. BOYD

Mr. Speaker, because of the delay in holding hearings on the pending noise abatement legislation, we are losing valuable time in the battle against the menace of jet noise.

I will continue to urge the Secretary of Transportation to take immediate administrative action to curb aircraft noise by issuing proposed operating rules under section 307(c) of the Federal Aviation Act. But that is not enough. The Secretary is handicapped by the delay in scheduling congressional hearings. Without legislation, the Secretary can only issue operating rules. He cannot enforce those rules with the strong measures proposed by the pending legislation.

I urge my colleagues in the House to review the exchange of correspondence relating to noise abatement regulations and to express their views, to the end that steps may be taken to assure appropriate congressional consideration of the pending legislation.

The era of sonic boom has arrived—but we have not yet been able to find the answer to reducing jet noise. We must accelerate our efforts at both the administrative and legislative levels of government if we are to be successful in ridding the atmosphere of the annoying pollutant of jet noise.

Yesterday in Washington, culture became the latest victim of the jet noise menace. Secretary of the Interior Stuart Udall announced that his Department may be obliged to terminate summer concerts because of interference by jet noise.

### Another Weekly Newspaper Added to Bruce Sagan Chain

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 10, 1967

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois: Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent, I am extending my remarks to include a news article from the Publisher's Auxiliary announcing the addition of another newspaper to the Bruce Sagan chain. Mr. Sagan, who is one of my most distinguished constituents, is the head of the largest chain of weekly newspapers in the Nation. The article from the Publishers Auxiliary follows:

#### ANOTHER WEEKLY NEWSPAPER ADDED TO BRUCE SAGAN CHAIN

NEWPORT BEACH, CALIF.—The 10,768-circulation weekly Newporter here has been purchased by Bruce Sagan, publisher of San Diego and Chicago weeklies from the Newport Publishing Co.

Roy McCann will continue as editor and publisher.

Sagan, who has been cited as "Publisher of the Year" by the National Assn. of Weeklies, owns the San Diego (Calif.) Independent, the Southwest Press and a chain of midwest weeklies.

#### GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

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### End Delay on Noise Abatement Legislation

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. HERBERT TENZER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 16, 1967

Mr. TENZER: Mr. Speaker, since coming to the Congress in January 1965, I have advocated congressional action on aircraft noise abatement. In February 1966, the President recognized the national importance of this problem in his transportation message to Congress, and appointed a White House Task Force on Aircraft Noise Abatement.

During the second session of the 89th Congress the administration sent to the Congress a noise abatement bill, authorizing the Secretary of Transportation to establish maximum aircraft noise levels to be used in certifying aircraft under the Federal Aviation Act. I have sponsored a measure which incorporates this provision and also provides financial assistance for modifications to aircraft and airports to reduce jet noise—H.R. 1398.

On July 11, 1967, I called on the Secretary of Transportation, Alan S. Boyd, to issue administrative regulations implementing the essential provisions of the administration noise abatement bill—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, July 11, 1967, A3467.

Under unanimous consent I place the text of my letter to Secretary Boyd in the RECORD at this point.

JULY 11 1967

HON. ALAN S. BOYD  
Secretary of Transportation,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Two weeks ago the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of NY struck down a Hempstead Town noise abatement ordinance as unconstitutional. Federal Judge John F. Dooling held in effect that jet noise was not only a national problem but a federal responsibility. He held that aircraft noise limitations must come from a federal agency.

On February, 1966 in his Transportation message to Congress, President Johnson recognized jet noise as a national problem. In

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7c

August 7, 1967

62-57026

Honorable Strom Thurmond  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510

My dear Senator:

I have received your letter of July 31, 1967. In reply to your observations on the possible use of computers in law enforcement the following information may be of interest.

This Bureau has been actively engaged in the study and implementation of means of automating its operations since the early 1930's. As a result of these efforts, the FBI has been commended upon occasion by the General Accounting Office as a leader in the field of automatic data processing. The FBI presently operates the latest "Third Generation" computer equipment. Through the years the Bureau has developed its own capable staff of programmers and systems analysts, who have instituted more than 1100 different types of computer program applications. These programs range from the usual administrative activities such as payroll and statistics to investigative aids whereby information concerning the modus operandi and/or the personal appearance and characteristics of an unidentified bank robber can be searched by computer through FBI files on known and suspected bank robbers. We maintain close liaison with a representative cross section of competent firms in the computer industry and governmental agencies to keep apprised of the latest developments in the computer field. An Operations Research Committee has been established within the FBI for the sole purpose of investigating further ways of automating Bureau functions.

We are continuously looking into the feasibility of automating our records represented by the investigative files and the index to these files. Representatives from a number of firms in the computer industry have reviewed and analyzed our records holdings and operational procedures. Thus the industry is fully aware of our particular needs in this area and it is my desire to utilize such equipment when it is technically and economically feasible for our specific operation.

RCP:ed  
(4)

SEP 5 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

SENT BY [initials]  
FOR APPROVAL  
9-4-67

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-57026-831

Honorable Strom Thurmond

Through the establishment in January of this year of the National Crime Information Center (NCIC), a nationwide computerized information network, the FBI has gained recognition as a leader in the field of teleprocessing in law enforcement. At the present time law enforcement agencies in 17 states are directly tied to our NCIC computer by communication lines. These agencies are able to enter records on stolen vehicles, stolen property and wanted persons directly into the computer memory. They are also able to make inquiry against over 200,000 items stored in the memory of the computer and receive answers to their inquiries in a matter of seconds. I am enclosing two reprints of articles which appeared in the FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin and "Popular Science Monthly" for your perusal.

The NCIC is the start of a nationwide index of documented law enforcement information on crime and criminals. I intend to expand the local and state participation in NCIC and the type of information to be stored in the computers as rapidly as technology will permit. The NCIC was developed by the FBI in cooperation with local and state law enforcement agencies and is the first use of this technology to link local, state and Federal governments.

The FBI and the problem of automated classification and searching of fingerprints are no strangers. More than thirty years ago, in 1934, we installed a punch-card system to assist in searching fingerprints in a portion of our fingerprint file. The system did not actually search fingerprints but eliminated some visual comparisons. In recent years, as the potential of automatic data processing became more evident, we encouraged and solicited ideas from the industry. After a great deal of deliberation and study it was decided that we should attack one of the more difficult aspects of fingerprint automation. Under date of December 16, 1966, a Request for Quotation was submitted to over sixty interested concerns in the automatic data processing industry. This request was sharply defined and asked for the development and demonstration within a twelve-month period of a device that will automatically locate and determine the relative position and angle of specified fingerprint minutiae in individual fingerprints on standard fingerprint cards. Fourteen firms submitted proposals and after careful study, two contracts were negotiated in June, 1967, with Cornell Aeronautical Laboratory, Incorporated, Buffalo, New York, and Autonetics Division of North American Aviation, Incorporated, Anaheim, California. If a reader can be developed that will consistently

Honorable Strom Thurmond

locate fingerprint minutiae, and thus provide a unique descriptor for each fingerprint, we will give law enforcement a most effective tool to assist in the curbing of crime.

You may rest assured we are doing everything possible to take full advantage of advancements in the automation field. I certainly appreciate your offer to be of assistance to us.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosures (2)

RECEIVED  
FBI - BUREAU  
MAY 11 1964  
MAY 11 1964

FBI  
REC'D - FBI  
MAY 11 1964

DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

JAMES O. EASTLAND, MISS., CHAIRMAN  
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EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRK  
ROMAN L. HRUSKA, ILL.  
HIRSH L. FONG, HAW.  
HUGH SCOTT, PA.  
JACOB K. JAVITS, N.Y.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

July 31, 1967

Tolson ✓  
DeLoach ✓  
Mohr ✓  
Mr. Bishop ✓  
Mr. Casper ✓  
Mr. Callahan ✓  
Mr. Conrad ✓  
Mr. Felt ✓  
Mr. Gale ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Sullivan ✓  
Mr. Tavel ✓  
Mr. Trotter ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Miss Holmes ✓  
Miss Gandy ✓

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Director:

For many years I have regarded the Federal Bureau of Investigation, under your direction, as the finest example we have of a consistently superlative performance by a Government Agency. I think you know this, so I feel sure there is no danger you will construe as criticism the fact that I now venture to make a suggestion.

Through decade after decade, your Bureau has procured, and sifted, and filed information of inestimable value to the security of this country. If there is any way in which the Bureau can be made even more efficient, I would think it would be through making this material even more readily available than it now is, and increasing the possibilities for evaluation of filed material.

The purpose of this letter is to suggest, respectfully, that there may be a way to do this: By computerizing your files.

Do you think it might be worthwhile to call into consultation one or more of the firms which manufacture and install computer systems, and get an idea of what can be done along this line and what it might cost? If you should wish to do this, and if there is need for an appropriation to finance this study, I would be happy to do whatever I can to get it for you.

It has been said that all the data storage and retrieval activities of the Government will be computerized sooner or later. I have been told that experience shows that computerization always pays for itself over a period of years, through reduced costs. If it is, or should come to be, your opinion that an electronic data storage and retrieval system would be a good thing for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, I have

ENCLOSURE

NOT RECORDED  
191 AUG 30 1967

COPY MADE FOR MR. TOLSON

18 AUG 22 1967

CORRESPONDENCE

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-118862-1967

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Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Page Two  
July 31, 1967

every confidence that there are enough men on both sides of the Capitol, who understand the importance of upholding your arm in every way, and the wisdom of doing whatever you think desirable for the good of the Bureau, to get you the full amount of whatever appropriation you may ask for.

I am fascinated by the concept of what might be possible through computerization. For instance, I consider it a modern miracle that your people are able to produce, from among many millions of fingerprint records, and often within a matter of just a few minutes, the prints which might match a particular sample. Suppose this could be done in a matter of seconds?

Suppose it might be possible to bring together within the span of a few minutes every single item of data concerning a particular organization which has been contained in any report that ever went into the Bureau's files! Suppose it should become possible to scan within moments every segment of your files and uncover every recorded instance in which three, or eight, or a dozen or more apparently unrelated factors were in fact connected with a particular individual or a particular operation! For instance, all the cases in which a safe was opened at night through the technique of drilling the combination, by a man with chewed-down fingernails and calloused palms who wore leather heels and smoked Lucky Strikes; or all the cases in which a kidnap note constructed of letters cut out in roughly circular form from a particular magazine with dull scissors, and mailed in a suburban post office, used the phrase "circulated currency" in demanding a ransom for a child abducted from a baby carriage in a park; or, to be less fanciful, any mention ever made, for whatever reason, in any field report with regard to an individual who has now become, for the first time, the subject of an investigation.

You will not, I know, be carried away by my flights of fancy or those of anyone else; but, if you should feel there is some merit to the idea of computerization, I hope you will let me know and let me help as much as I can.

Highest personal regards,

Sincerely,



Strom Thurmond  
United States Senator

ST/sf

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

*STW*  
**Memorandum**

TO: The Director

DATE

*8/18/67*

FROM

N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

*STROM*

**Pages A4144-A4151. Senator Thurmond, (R) South Carolina, extended his remarks and stated: several weeks ago I called upon the Justice Department to apply the full force of the law to the Carmichaels and others of his type as a major step toward halting the destruction of our cities by these insurrectionists. - - - What this country needs is a demonstration by the responsible officials that they are no longer going to tolerate those who call for the burning of our cities and urge our young people to dodge the draft. He included an editorial from the Charleston (South Carolina) News and Courier of August 12 entitled Justice Department Failure. The editorial comments on the speech in the House on August 3 by Congressman Rivers, (D) South Carolina, on the failure of the Justice Department to prosecute insurrectionists and those who attempt draft dodging. The editorial stated Mr. Rivers has performed another public service in producing this indictment of the Justice Department under Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark. It is a do-nothing department when it comes to dealing with those who promote draft-dodging and advocate burning down America."**

Original filed in

*66-1731-3138**62-52026-*

NOT RECORDED

176 SEP 8 1967

*SEP 13*  
*SEP 8*

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for *8/17/67* was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

*131967 347*



JAMES O. EASTLAND MISS CHAIRMAN  
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HIRAM L. FONG HAWAII  
HUGH SCOTT PA.  
STROM THURMOND, S.C.

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

December 1, 1967

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Bishop  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

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Honorable Robert McElory, M. C.  
1123 House Office Building  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bob:

I have carefully read the six-page letter dated November 29, 1967, regarding S. 917, which is pending before the Committee on the Judiciary, and frankly am surprised at the erroneous statements and conclusions it contains.

As requested, I have re-examined Section 604 (not Section 606 as stated in your letter) and find that it authorizes the Federal Bureau of Investigation to:

1. conduct a National Institute of Law Enforcement Training at the FBI National Academy. (The FBI National Academy was founded more than 30 years ago and is a glowing example of that Bureau's long-established expertise in the police training field.)
2. provide training to state and local officers at the National Institute of Law Enforcement Training "at the request of any State or local governmental unit." (As noted above, the FBI has been engaged in such training activities for more than three decades.)
3. develop improved equipment and techniques for the prevention and reduction of crime, as well as for the detection and apprehension of criminals. (This is another field where the FBI has earned a well-deserved reputation for leadership, industry and ingenuity.)
4. assist in conducting local and regional schools for the training of law enforcement personnel "at the request of any State or local governmental unit." (Here again, the FBI has a background of knowledge, ability and experience extending back more than 30 years.)

62-52026-90x

REC-9ACT-3

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DEC 22 1967

57 JAN 4 1968

Honorable Robert McClory, M. C.

Page 2

December 1, 1967

Section 604 further provides that in exercising the above duties, the FBI shall be under the supervision of the Attorney General---as has been the case since the Bureau was founded nearly 60 years ago.

I find absolutely nothing in S.917 which by inference or by word "places all Federally-assisted training of state and local law enforcement personnel...under the direction of the FBI." Furthermore, I can find no basis for your belief "that the approach to police training conducted and controlled by the FBI, as presently provided by S.917, would be the first (and dangerous) step in the eventual federalization of our state and local police forces."

S.917 provides that requests must be made by State and local governmental units for FBI training assistance, and it guarantees that control over local and regional police training schools shall remain with the States and municipalities themselves.

No one has been more steadfast or outspoken in his opposition to the concept of a national police force---nor to Federal encroachment on the sovereignty and prerogatives of State and local authorities---than J. Edgar Hoover. To suggest that he, knowingly or otherwise, would be a party to any program which carries in it the seeds of Federal supervision or control over the law enforcement profession is to confess a complete lack of knowledge or understanding of the path followed by this outstanding man throughout his dedicated career of public service. Nor would I be a party to such a scheme.

I can only conclude from your letter of November 29th that you have been sorely misled.

I hope you are doing nicely, and with best wishes,

Sincerely,



Strom Thurmond

*Senator*

*S.C.*

ST:s

cc: Senator Everett M. Dirksen

Senator Roman L. Hruska

Senator Hiram I. Fong

Senator Hugh Scott

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [redacted]

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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10-13

MP

TEL BOULEVARD 3-1900

MEMORANDUM

ST-106

Pro

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Before leaving for Texas and Mexico, [redacted]

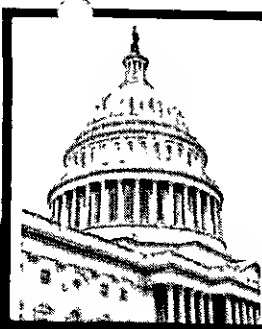
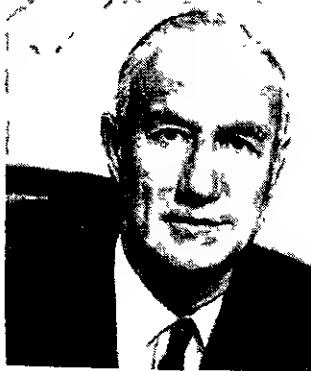
asked me to send you a copy of the recent interesting and  
factual report, "Fifty Years Of Communism" by his friend,  
Senator Strom Thurmond.

With best wishes.

62-5202691  
DEC 19 1967

1 ENCLOSURE  
39 DEC 20 1967

John  
NA!



# STROM THURMOND

*reports*

TO THE PEOPLE

## Major Committee Posts

Armed Services

Judiciary

Appropriations (Defense)

Republican Campaign

## Armed Services Subcommittees

Preparedness Investigating

Central Intelligence

NATO Status of Forces

Military Construction

## Judiciary Subcommittees

Internal Security

Immigration-Naturalization

Constitutional Rights

Juvenile Delinquency

Adm. Practice & Procedure

Constitutional Amendments

Criminal Laws & Procedure

VOL. XIII, NO. 43

FIFTY YEARS OF COMMUNISM

November 6, 1967

November 7 is the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution in the Soviet Union. The Bolshevik Revolution was more like a hijacking than a revolution. Lenin and his cohorts seized power from a democratically chosen government, set up after the overthrow of the czars, some eight months earlier. Lenin's highly organized minority seized power from 160 million subjects, today Communism has spread until it rules more than one-third of the earth's population.

International Communism, on conservative estimates, has been responsible for some 83 million deaths since the coup of 1917. At least 45 million of these have been in the Soviet Union itself. Stalin boasted that the man-made famines of 1932-33 killed ten million peasants who were refusing to give up their land.

Those who listen to Communist propagandists today forget that before the revolution 71% of the cultivated lands were in small holdings of 135 acres or less. Before the revolution, peasants owned 82% of the cattle, 86% of the horses and produced a grain surplus for export. For the period 1907-1913, the industrial growth rate exceeded the rates in the same period for the U S, Great Britain, and Germany. In less than a decade, before the revolution, production had doubled. Russia was second only to the U S in railroad mileage. Russia had more universities than England, France, and Germany, with one-third of the students attending on scholarship. Although czarist terror seemed formidable at the time, only 32,000 convicts were at hard labor at the peak and the death penalty was outlawed except for cases of political assassination.

After 50 years of Communism in the Soviet Union, the Soviet gross national product (GNP) is only 45% of that of the U S, \$333 billion as

2  
against \$739 billion Of the major industrial nations, the USSR is fifth in GNP. In per capita income, the USSR is 13th, and in overall social and economic services, 20th The average weekly earnings for a worker in 1965-66 was \$26, with millions subsisting on the so-called legal minimum of \$10 per week Food takes 60% of a worker's earnings in the USSR, as against 19% in the U S. But the most telling statistic of all is that 50% of wage earners in the Soviet Union are women -- proof that a man cannot support a family with his pay check alone

The human costs have been staggering Hardly any family has not been touched by arrests for slave labor --- a fact which leads us to believe that over 50 million people have served in the slave labor camps Even today, refugee information indicates that one million are still held One camp, only 250 miles from Moscow, holds 70,000 in this fiftieth anniversary year

The Soviet regime is celebrating 50 years of personal terror, with neighbor spying upon neighbor, husband upon wife, and son upon father. The neighborhood organized spy corps today numbers six million There are 6,000 local schools to train disseminators of domestic propaganda --- propaganda aimed entirely at Soviet citizens. On a higher level, 17 regional institutes give advanced propaganda training The Stalin constitution is still in effect The Supreme Soviet --- that is, the supposed national legislature --- meets for a few days each year to rubber-stamp decisions handed down by the Communist Party The accused in the Soviet Union has no right to habeas corpus, and his survivors even have no right to a certificate of his death

Although indications are that the open terror has abated somewhat, it is clear that the totalitarian nature of the regime makes any significant liberalization improbable The KGB --- the secret police --- carries on as before, and has been known to take over when local police allow disturbances to get out of hand Recent reorganizations in the Soviet leadership have brought the KGB directly into the policy-making control of the Central Committee of the Communist Party As Svetlana Stalina pointed out, many of her father's henchmen (from Brezhnev on down) participated in directing the blood purges and still sit on the Central Committee Miss Stalin maintains that conditions today are deteriorating

116-95085-29 ENCLOSURE  
Today's Communist leaders are better educated, and more sophisticated than the revolutionaries of old They are more effective in pursuing their goal of world domination through indirect means --- diplomacy, espionage, and agitation The Communists have not abandoned their goal of conquering the world, the only change is that today they are determined to do it with a smile

Sincerely,

Strom Thurmond

RICHARD B. RUSSELL, GA, CHAIRMAN  
JOHN STENNIS, MISS  
STUART SYMINGTON, MO  
HENRY M. JACKSON, WASH  
SAM J. ERVIN, JR., NC  
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MARGARET CHASE  
STROM THURMOND  
JACK MILLER, IOWA  
JOHN G. TOWER, TEX  
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WILLIAM H. DARDEN, CHIEF OF STAFF  
CHARLES B. KIRKOW, CHIEF CLERK

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

WASHINGTON, D C 20510

February 7, 1968

r	Tolson	✓
r	DeLoach	✓
	Mohr	✓
	Bishop	✓
Mr	Casper	✓
Mr	Callahan	✓
Mr	Conrad	✓
Mr	Felt	✓
Mr	Gale	✓
Mr	Rosen	✓
Mr	Sullivan	✓
Mr	Tavel	✓
Mr	Trotter	✓
Tele. Room		✓
Miss Holmes		✓
Miss Gandy		✓

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b7c

PERSONAL

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Your kind letter of February 2 has been received.

Thanks for sending me the beautiful color picture  
which is excellent, and I shall cherish it as the  
years go by.

It was a pleasure for me to present the check to  
you for the J. Edgar Hoover Foundation on behalf of  
the John P. Gaty Charitable Trust. I am sure that  
the funds will be used in a most worthwhile manner.

Anytime we can be of service, please get in touch  
with us, and with kindest regards and best wishes,

Sincerely,

*Strom Thurmond*

Strom Thurmond

ST/a

EX 101

REC-20

62-52026-91x

~~62-52026-91x~~

18 FEB 9 1968

CORRESPONDENCE

51 FEB 15 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO Mr. Bishop

DATE 1-12-68

FROM M. A. Jones

SUBJECT [REDACTED] SENATOR STROM THURMOND (R - S. CAROLINA)  
MEETING AND PHOTOGRAPH WITH DIRECTOR  
RE PRESENTATION OF \$10,000 CHECK TO THE J. EDGAR HOOVER  
FOUNDATION  
10 A.M., WEDNESDAY, 1-17-68.

## BACKGROUND:

By letter of 1-9-68, [REDACTED] to the Director who is on the Special Correspondents List and who was chosen to serve [REDACTED] after Mr. Hoover had declined to serve as a member of this Board, noted that he and Senator Thurmond had an appointment to be photographed with the Director during the presentation of this \$10,000 check. [REDACTED] advised that he was very "sensitive" about the Director's time but would greatly appreciate it if Mr. Hoover could spare another five or ten minutes to enable [REDACTED] to briefly discuss "three or four other matters" with the Director. [REDACTED] closes by stating he will check with Miss Gandy on Wednesday morning to determine if Mr. Hoover could discuss these matters with him. [REDACTED] fails to mention in his letter any information concerning these "matters" he wishes to discuss with the Director.

## INFORMATION IN BUFILES:

In Mr. DeLoach to Mr. Tolson memo dated 12-5-67, captioned "J. Edgar Hoover Foundation," it was reported that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] has contributed \$10,000 of the Foundation's money to The J. Edgar Hoover Foundation. Each member of the Board of Trustees of The Gaty Foundation is allowed, once a year, to contribute \$10,000 to a foundation, activity, or movement which is considered to be foremost in the fight against communism. This \$10,000 must be spent within twelve months following the presentation.

It was also noted that [REDACTED] had proposed that Senator Thurmond, who was Chairman of the Board to handle this Trust, present the \$10,000 check to Mr. Hoover. The Director noted on this memo that he could see [REDACTED] Senator Thurmond at 10:30 a.m., 12-14-67.

Enclosure

- 1-Mr. DeLoach-Enclosure
- 1-Mr. Bishop-Enclosure
- 1-Miss Gandy-Enclosure
- 1-Miss Holmes-Enclosure
- 1-Mr. Suttler-Enclosure
- 1-Tour Room-Enclosure

JCF:jmb (12)

(CONTINUED OVER)

Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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b7C

REMOVED BY SP8

1-Mr. DeLoach-Enclosure

1-Mr. Bishop-Enclosure

1-Miss Gandy-Enclosure

JCF:jmb (12)

1-Miss Holmes-Enclosure

1-Mr. Suttler-Enclosure

1-Tour Room-Enclosure

(CONTINUED OVER)

Jones to Bishop Memo

RE: [REDACTED] SENATOR STROM THURMOND (R-S. CAROLINA)

However, in Mr. DeLoach to Mr. Tolson memo dated 12-12-67, also captioned "J. Edgar Hoover Foundation," it was pointed out that [REDACTED] could not be available at that time in view of a meeting of the Board of Directors of Schenley Industries. The Director then indicated he would see these individuals at 10 a.m. on 1-17-68.

b6  
b7C

Our files reveal cordial relations with Senator Strom Thurmond dating back to 1938. The Director has exchanged correspondence with him on numerous occasions. He is a good friend of the Bureau and has been of considerable assistance to us on the Hill in legislation concerning the FBI. He was born on 12-5-02, at Edgefield, South Carolina, and graduated from Clemson College in 1923. He studied law at night and was admitted to the South Carolina Bar in 1930. He was Governor of South Carolina from 1947 to 1951, and was elected to the United States Senate as a write-in candidate on 11-2-54. While belonging to the Democratic Party most of his adult life, Senator Thurmond turned Republican in 1964.

A review of our files fails to indicate any information surrounding the "three or four other matters" which [REDACTED] wishes to discuss with Mr. Hoover.

b6  
b7C

#### OBSERVATIONS:

In view of the Director's extremely heavy schedule coupled with the fact that we are not aware of the matters [REDACTED] wishes to discuss with Mr. Hoover, it is felt that the Director should not afford [REDACTED] the additional time he has requested, but rather should restrict his appointment with [REDACTED] Senator Thurmond to the time necessary for the photograph of the presentation of the \$10,000 check for The J. Edgar Hoover Foundation.

b7C  
b6

#### RECOMMENDATIONS:

1) That the Director not take time from his busy schedule for the purpose of discussing some additional matters with [REDACTED] on 1-17-68.

Te [REDACTED] WAS  
ADVISED OF POSTPONEMENT  
HIS LETTER OF 1/9/68 WAS  
RALLY ACKNOWLEDGED FOR DIRECTOR  
1/16/68  
TEB

2) That when [REDACTED] calls Miss Gandy on Wednesday morning, he be advised that the Director's heavy schedule precludes him from discussing these additional matters with [REDACTED] at this time.

b6  
b7C

I suggest he be told that the  
Director must schedule the  
meeting for another  
day.  
V

- 2 -

This has been post-  
poned - A

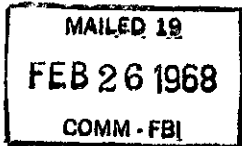


6-7  
February 26, 1968

①  
Honorable Strom Thurmond  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C. 20510

My dear Senator:

I have read your remarks concerning the need  
for strong local law enforcement which appeared in the Febru-  
ary 21st edition of the 'Congressional Record.' It certainly  
was thoughtful of you to quote my message in the February  
issue of the FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin on this topic, and  
I do not want to let the occasion pass without expressing my  
appreciation.



Sincerely yours, REC 36

J. Edgar Hoover

62-52026 91X1

94-6357

FEB 27 1968

ISB

1 - Columbia

NOTE: Senator Thurmond is on the Special Correspondents List. By  
letter 2-12-68 the Editor of "The State" of Columbia, South Carolina,  
was appropriately thanked for his editorial, "No Gestapo Needed."

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

HRH:cat (5)

TELETYPE UNIT

b6  
b7C

Senator Thurmond's remarks appeared on pages E995 and E996 of the 2-21-68 edition of the "Congressional Record."

need effective nonpartisan, non-enforcement of our laws

Mr President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial from the State and the entire statement by Director Edgar Hoover, be placed in the Extension of Remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial and statement were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows

#### NO GESTAPO NEEDED

There have been some moves recently to have federal courts take over certain local police departments and supervise their operations. It has been suggested that federal courts ought to place a police department in receivership and appoint a "master" with full administrative powers over its affairs.

Once, when Sen Robert F. Kennedy was the Attorney General, he toured Europe asking officials in various cities if they could advise him concerning the feasibility of creating a national police force in the US. In one German city he asked, "Do you have a national police force here?" "No, not now," replied the official. "We had one a few years ago, but it wasn't popular, it was called the Gestapo."

America has no place for, nor does it need, a national police force, writes FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover in the current *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*.

"It should be abundantly clear by now that in a democracy such as ours effective law enforcement is basically a local responsibility. In the great area of self-government reserved for states, counties, and cities, the enforcement of the laws is not only their duty but also their right. Law-abiding citizens and local officials should vigorously oppose concerted attacks against law enforcement and the devious moves to negate local authority and replace it with federal police power."

Amen to that. Local law enforcement represents the first line of defense of our social order. We need no Gestapo here, nor any KGB.

[From *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*]

FEBRUARY 1, 1968

Man cannot live in our complex society today without a system of laws. The system is doomed unless the laws are enforced, and the enforcement officer is ineffective unless his efforts to maintain the peace and protect life and property are supported by the government and the people.

The destruction of law enforcement, particularly at the local level, appears to be a prime objective of some dissident groups and individuals in our country. While they have made no appreciable headway, they are creating such a smokescreen of harassment and intimidation that enforcement of the law is becoming an overwhelming burden for many agencies.

In some areas, the doctrine of dissent is bordering on a doctrine of nihilism. Since local law enforcement represents the first line of defense of our social order, it becomes a primary target of those who challenge established authority. Regardless of the cause they support, many groups seek altercations with local police to gain publicity and sympathy. Consequently, in this rebellious climate, law enforcement must not only cope with an alarming and increasing crime problem but must also defend its very existence.

Currently, there is a move to have Federal courts take over certain local police departments and supervise their operations. According to this ridiculous plan, the courts would place a police department in receivership and appoint a special "master" with full administrative powers over its affairs. The courts could do this country a great service if they would promptly and with finality, slap down such schemes to undermine and destroy local law enforcement.

Over the years, the FBI has consistently

and local law enforcement full cooperative service to police agencies and assisting in the training of many thousands of State, county, and city policemen, this Bureau has meticulously kept within the scope of its own authority and avoided any encroachment in areas of responsibility belonging to State and local police.

America has no place for, nor does it need, a national police force. It should be abundantly clear by now that in a democracy such as ours effective law enforcement is basically a local responsibility. In the great area of self-government reserved for States, counties, and cities, the enforcement of the laws is not only their duty but also their right. Law-abiding citizens and local officials should vigorously oppose concerted attacks against law enforcement and the devious moves to negate local authority and replace it with Federal police power.

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER,  
Director.

b6  
b7c

### The Need for Strong Local Law Enforcement

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, February 21, 1968

Mr. THURMOND: Mr. President, I wish to give Senators the opportunity to read an editorial published in the State, Columbia, S.C., on February 6, 1968. The editorial emphasizes the need for strong local law enforcement and quotes from comments by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover in the current *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*.

Mr. President, the rabble-rousers, hate-mongers, and co-goodies who try to justify their criminal acts with slogans about civil disobedience would like to see a total breakdown of local law enforcement. At the time when our Nation's capital is being threatened by groups and so-called leaders who advocate violating many of our laws, we need nationwide awareness of the necessity for having strong local law enforcement and we

62-52026-91x1

ET to Thurmond  
2-29-68  
NRH:est

ENCLOSURE

8/4

April 1, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY

*C*  
Honorable Strom Thurmond  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C. 20510

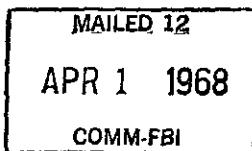
b6  
b7C

My dear Senator:

It was such a pleasure to see you in my  
office, and I am enclosing a copy of the April, 1968,  
issue of "The Investigator," the employee publication of  
this Bureau. The photograph made at that time appears  
on page 12, and I thought you might like to have this copy.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



Enclosure

NOTE: Senator Thurmond is on the Special Correspondents List.

JRP:emt (5)  
*2,100*

REC'D C12HOB

FBI

REC-300

62-52026-91x2  
APR 2 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

RICHARD B RUSSELL GA CHAIRMAN  
 JOHN STENNIS MISS  
 HARRY FLOOD BYRD, VA  
 STUART SYMINGTON, MO  
 HENRY M JACKSON WASH  
 SAM J ERVIN JR NC  
 HOWARD W CANNON NEV  
 ROBERT C BYRD W VA  
 STEPHEN M YOUNG OHIO  
 DANIEL K INOUE HAWAII  
 THOMAS J MCINTYRE NH  
 DANIEL B BREWSTER, MD

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, MASS  
 MARGARET CHASE MAINE  
 STROM THURMOND  
 JACK MILLER, IOWA  
 JOHN G TOWER TEX

CHARLES B KIRBOW, CHIEF CLERK

# United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

April 3, 1968

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

The Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
 Federal Bureau of Investigation  
 United States Department of Justice  
 Washington, D. C.

*DeLoach*

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Just a note to express my appreciation to you for  
 sending the April issue of The Investigator. I thought  
 the picture which appears on page 12 was quite good.

I hope you are enjoying good health and can continue  
 serving our Nation for many years to come, and with best  
 wishes,

Sincerely,

*Strom Thurmond*  
Strom Thurmond

ST:m

EXP. PROC.  
 33 APR 4 1968

62-52026-91x3

REC-106

~~74-635395~~

6 APR 4 1968

54 APR 12 1968

*No act necessary  
 8 JRP*

CORRESPONDENCE

**BY SPECIAL MESSENGER**

**My dear Senator:**

As mementos of the occasion, I am sending you separately copies of the photograph which were made at that time. I am also sending Agent Powell and his parents copies of the photograph.

J. Edgar Hoover

**NOTE: Senator Thurmond is on the Special Correspondents List. Powell is a graduate of the 81st Session of the National Academy.**

TBC:nls (6)

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REC- 97

2 JUN 3 1968

RICHARD B. RUSSELL, GA., CHAIRMAN  
 JOHN STENNIS, MISS  
 STUART SYMINGTON, MO  
 HENRY M. JACKSON, WASH  
 SAM J. ERVIN, JR., N.C.  
 HOWARD W. CANNON, NEV.  
 ROBERT C. BYRD, W. VA.  
 STEPHEN M. YOUNG, OHIO  
 DANIEL K. INOUE, HAWAII  
 THOMAS J. MCINTYRE, N.H.  
 DANIEL B. BREWSTER, MD.  
 HARRY F. BYRD, JR., VA.

MARGARET CHASE SMITH, MAINE  
 STROM THURMOND, S.C.  
 JACK MILLER, IOWA  
 JOHN G. TOWER, N.Y.  
 JAMES B. PEARSON, KANS.  
 PETER H. DOMINICK, COLO.

WILLIAM H. DARDEN, CHIEF OF STAFF  
 CHARLES B. KIRKOW, CHIEF CLERK

# United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES  
 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

June 4, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 11-22-2004 BY [redacted]

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

The Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
 Federal Bureau of Investigation  
 Department of Justice  
 Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Just a note to express to you my appreciation  
 for sending me the photographs which were taken at  
 the graduation exercises of the 81st Session of the  
 FBI National Academy.

With kind regards and best wishes,

Sincerely,

*Strom Thurmond*  
 Strom Thurmond

ST:1

2/1/68  
 38  
 34

EX-114

62-52026-92X

~~94-63537-6~~

no ask necessary  
 file  
 9/8

REC-30

1 JUN 5 1968

CORRESPONDENCE

70 JUN 18 1968

December 30, 1968

REC-89

62-52026-93

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

Honorable Strom Thurmond  
540 N Street, S. W.  
Washington, D. C. 20024

b6  
b7c

My dear Senator:

JAMES STROM

I have received the announcement of  
your marriage and want to extend my best wishes to  
Mrs. Thurmond and my heartiest congratulations to  
you.

I hope the years ahead will be filled  
with much happiness for both of you.

With kind personal regards,

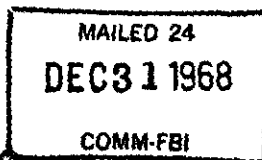
Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Senator Thurmond is on the Special Correspondents List.  
Home address per Congressional Directory.

AWT:jas (3)

jas



DEC 30 1968

DEC 30 1968

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4 JAN 24 1969

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY

MR TOLSON \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. DELOACH \_\_\_\_\_  
MR MOHR ☒ \_\_\_\_\_  
MR BISHOP ☒ \_\_\_\_\_  
MR CASPER \_\_\_\_\_  
MR CALLAHAN \_\_\_\_\_  
MR CONRAD \_\_\_\_\_  
MR FELT \_\_\_\_\_  
MR GALE \_\_\_\_\_  
MR ROSEN \_\_\_\_\_  
MR SULLIVAN \_\_\_\_\_  
MR TAVEL \_\_\_\_\_  
MR TROTTER \_\_\_\_\_  
MR JONES \_\_\_\_\_  
TELE ROOM \_\_\_\_\_  
MISS HOLMES \_\_\_\_\_  
MRS. METCALF \_\_\_\_\_  
MISS GANDY ☒ \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7C

*ack aut/jas  
12/30/68  
scl*

*J. Hunt*

MOORE - NML



[redacted]  
have the honour of announcing  
the marriage of their daughter

[redacted]  
to  
Senator James Strom Thurmond  
on Sunday, the twenty-second of December  
One thousand nine hundred and sixty-eight  
First Presbyterian Church  
Aiken, South Carolina

b6  
b7C

*J*

*Honorable J. Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D.C. 20535*

REC-89

62-52024-93

25 DIRECTOR  
FEB 69

6 JAN 15 1969

*81 Aut*

*Wash. D.C. 20535*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-22-2004 BY [REDACTED]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7C

TO : Mr. Bishop

DATE 9/25/68

FROM : G. E. Malmfeldt

SUBJECT: CORRESPONDENCE FROM SENATOR STROM THURMOND  
ENCLOSING CONSTITUENT'S REQUEST FOR DATA IN FBI  
FILES CONCERNING REVEREND E. FREEMAN YEARLING.

## SYNOPSIS:

Senator Thurmond has forwarded constituent's letter with its enclosure which requests data in FBI files concerning [REDACTED]. Bufiles contain no record of constituent but indicates correspondence with [REDACTED] who in 1966 was associated with an anti-communist organization which was a John Birch front. Recommend Senator Thurmond be advised by letter of confidential nature of our files and orally advised on confidential basis of information [REDACTED].

b6  
b7C

## DETAILS:

By communication received 9/24/68, Senator Thurmond, who is on the Special Correspondents List, furnished constituent's request of [REDACTED] requested data in FBI files concerning [REDACTED].

b6  
b7C

Bufiles contain no record concerning [REDACTED]. Our files indicate previous correspondence [REDACTED] last outgoing 12/22/66. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] It was indicated the objectives of this organization were anti-communist and it was a well known John Birch front [REDACTED].

b6  
b7C

It is felt for record purposes Senator Thurmond should be advised by letter of the confidential nature of our files and that he be orally furnished on confidential basis of data concerning Reverend Yearling.

Enclosure

NOT RECORDED

OCT 2 1968

145 OCT 4 1968

CONTINUED OVER-

1 - Mr. DeLoach - Enclosures (4)

1 - Mr. Bishop - Enclosures (4)

FMG:mrc (4)

CORRESPONDENCE

G. E. Malmfeldt memo to Mr. Bishop Re CORRESPONDENCE FROM  
SENATOR STROM THURMOND

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That attached letter advising Senator Thurmond for record purposes of the confidential nature of our files be approved and thereafter delivered by someone in your (Mr. Bishop's) office.

2. That at time of delivery, Senator Thurmond or his Administrative Assistant be confidentially advised of data concerning Reverend Yearling.

*P* *Don*  
*V.* *TEB* *1m/*  
*Handled 9-27-68*  
*with*  *OK*  
*adm. Asst. to Sen. Thurmond* *N*  
*Quofy* *b6*  
*b7C*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-30-2004 BY [redacted]

TO : Mr. Bishop *TJB*

DATE 3-21-69

Conrad  
Felt  
Gale  
Rosen  
Sullivan  
Tavel  
Trotter  
Tele Room  
Holmes  
Gandy

FROM : M. A. Jones *[initials]*

SUBJECT : SENATOR STROM THURMOND  
(R - SOUTH CAROLINA)

This morning, March 21st, [redacted] in the office of Senator Thurmond telephonically contacted Mr. Bishop's office and stated that the Senator would like a briefing by an FBI representative on turbulence and disorders on our college campuses. [redacted] was advised we would check and be in touch with him.

Thurmond, of Aiken, South Carolina, is a former Democrat who became a Republican in 1964. He was the States Rights Candidate for President of the United States in 1948 and was elected to the United States Senate in 1954. Thurmond is a good friend of the Bureau's and we have had very cordial relationships with him during his tenure of office.

## RECOMMENDATION:

That Mr. DeLoach be approved to brief Thurmond at a mutually convenient time along the lines he requested and that [redacted] be so advised.

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Bishop

DGH:pls(5)

*Handled 4-4-69  
by Mr. DeLoach & Barrera  
Rec'd BFB*

REC 17

10 APR 15 1969

356  
56 APR 22 1969

CRIME RESEARCH

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. Bishop

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT : SENATOR STROM THURMOND  
(R - SOUTH CAROLINA)

DATE April 29, 1969

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

On 4/28/69, Senator Thurmond, with whom we enjoy a friendly relationship, furnished the enclosed copy of a letter addressed to him from [redacted] of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. [redacted] identifies himself as a member of Young Americans for Freedom, a conservative organization composed primarily of college students. He says he organized a small group of students to vociferously support the Senator when he spoke at the University of Pennsylvania on 4/21/69. [redacted] writes, "I am absolutely convinced that were it not for the small band of patriotic students who were so clamorous in support of you there would have been an attempt to harm you physically." He continues that his observations and limited intelligence convince him the radical leftists would have tried to harm Senator Thurmond had his group not intimidated them. He urges the Senator to be more careful for his personal safety and not to accept speaking invitations on "liberal campuses" without adequate security precautions. He suggests the Senator have a bodyguard and arrange for local police to be present.

Senator Thurmond pointed out he makes a number of speeches on college campuses all around the country but he has never considered the aspects of personal danger. He asked if we might have any knowledge of this situation and any guidance.

Bufiles reflect that one [redacted]

[redacted] in a numbers gambling operation in Philadelphia. This information has been reported by the Philadelphia Office in 1964, 1966 and 1967. It is noted the writer of the letter to Senator Thurmond shows his address [redacted] and it is not known whether he is identical with the individual connected in the gambling operations in Philadelphia. We have handled recently two or three threatening-type communications concerning Senator Thurmond but U. S. Attorneys have not entertained any prosecutive action on them. We have received no information indicating there might be any attempt made to physically harm the Senator during his speaking engagements. We do, of course, promptly notify any Senator should we receive information indicating a possible attack. His speeches, of course, are strongly from the conservative viewpoint and he has been heckled in the past during some of these appearances.

Enclosure

1 - Mr. DeLoach

1 - Mr. Rosen

1 - Mr. Sullivan

54 MAY 19 1969

CRIME RESEARCH  
(RECOMMENDATION--Page 2)

M. A. Jones to Mr. Bishop Memo  
RE: SENATOR STROM THURMOND (R - SOUTH CAROLINA)

RECOMMENDATION:

That Senator Thurmond be advised we have no information at this time indicating any attempts may be made to physically harm him and no information to confirm the statement by [redacted] that a possible attempt would have been made on him at the University of Pennsylvania had it not been for [redacted] followers. At the same time, it can be suggested to the Senator that he may wish to consider alerting local law enforcement agencies in the areas where he has a speech commitment.

b6  
b7C

*P* *W/H* *DWB* *GR* *h*  
*Handled 5-1-69*  
*with* *Sen.* *Thurmond*  
*Den* *Den*

b6  
b7C

Dear Senator Thurmond:

I am a member of Young Americans for Freedom. I was present in the audience at the Univ. of Penna. when you spoke there on April 21. I personally organized that small band of students who were so vociferous in support of you. To our pleasant surprise there were other students scattered throughout the audience who were not afraid to clap in support of you. I do believe, Senator, that you made some converts to the cause of conservatism.

However, Senator, what I have to say is very serious: I am absolutely convinced that were it not for the small band of patriotic students who were so clamorous in support of you there would have been an attempt to harm you physically. My personal observations and limited intelligence network convince me beyond doubt that had we not been there those radical leftists would have tried to harm you--except that we intimidated them! You may not have been aware of it, Senator, but we were at all times solicitous for your safety.

Consequently, Senator, I hereby urge you to please be more careful of your personal safety in the future. Please do not accept any more invitations to speak on liberal campuses without taking adequate security precautions. Moreover, you should arrange for local police to be there--just in case. I know from personal experience, Senator, that these radical leftists are crazy, and there is no telling what they might do. PLEASE BE MORE CARE FUL IN THE FUTURE! You are too valuable to this country to loose.

Nevertheless, Senator, your courage and "grace under pressure" tremendously impressed me. I feel sure, Senator, that your courage and patriotism stimulated some of the other students too (but who were afraid to openly support you). May God bless you, Senator, and continue to fight the lonely and frustrating battle for a conservative America.

Sincerely Yours [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

P.S. Keep the pressure on Nixon. Watch out for [REDACTED]

TRUE COPY

ENCLOSURE

62-52026-94

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-29-2004 BY [REDACTED]

APR 24 REGD

b6

b7C

Dear Senator Thurmond:

I am a member of Young Americans for Freedom. I was present in the audience at the Univ. of Penna. when you spoke there on April 21. I personally organized that small band of students who were so vociferous in support of you. To our pleasant surprise there were other students scattered throughout the audience who were not afraid to clap in support of you. I do believe, Senator, that you made some converts to the cause of conservatism.

However, Senator, what I have to say is very serious: I am absolutely convinced that were it not for the small band of ~~young~~ patriotic students who were so clamorous in support of you there would have been an attempt to harm you physically. My personal observations and limited intelligence network convince me beyond doubt that had we not been there those radical leftists would have tried to harm you — except that we intimidated them! You may not have been aware of it, Senator, but we were at all times solicitous for your safety.



Consequently, Senator, I hereby urge you to please be more careful of your personal safety in the future. Please do not accept any more invitations to speak on liberal campuses without taking adequate security precautions. Moreover, you should have bodyguards with you and have them arrange for local police to be there - just in case. I know from personal experience, Senator, that these radical leftists are crazy, and there is no telling what they might do. PLEASE BE MORE CAREFUL IN THE FUTURE! You are too valuable to this country to lose.

Nevertheless, Senator, your courage and "grace under pressure" tremendously impressed me. I feel sure, Senator, that your courage and patriotism stimulated some of the other students too (but who were afraid to openly support you). May God bless you, Senator, and continue to fight the lonely and frustrating battle for a conservative America.

Sincerely Yours,

[Redacted Signature]

P.S. Keep the pressure on Nixon. Watch out

For

[Redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
April 29, HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-29-2004 BY  

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b7c

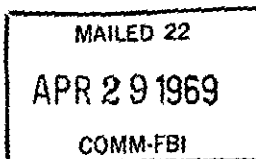
Honorable Strom Thurmond  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C. 20510

My dear Senator:

*my*  
I want to express my appreciation for your  
having inserted into the Congressional Record of April 25th  
my message from the September, 1968, issue of the FBI  
Law Enforcement Bulletin. I am indeed pleased that you  
found my remarks worthy of being brought to the attention  
of your colleagues, and I want to thank you for your con-  
tinuing interest in our activities.

*D*  
*my*

Sincerely yours,  
J. Edgar Hoover



REC 16

62-52026-9

MAY 6 1969

1 - Columbia

NOTE: Senator Thurmond is on the Special Correspondents List.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_

HCS:cae  
(4)

13 1968

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

1968-INTRODUCTION OF THE  
ACADEMIC FREEDOM PROTEC-  
TIVE ACT OF 1969

Mr THURMOND Mr President, I in-  
troduce a bill entitled "The Academic  
Freedom Protective Act of 1969" Every-  
one is aware of the grave disruptions  
which are now affecting our universities  
throughout the land Most of these dis-  
ruptions constitute an organized attempt  
at the subversion of the ordinary conduct  
and administration of our educational  
institutions by a small determined group  
whose motive is anarchy and social dis-

ruption There is no question but what  
these disruptions are the result of a  
planned and organized campaign by a  
radical group designed to involve hun-  
dreds of thousands of more or less mod-  
erate students who would not otherwise  
engage in such antisocial actions.

For some reason, there has been a pe-  
culiar reluctance by the administration  
of several of the universities to take  
proper steps to insure that law and order  
prevail so that the proper atmosphere  
conducive to the free play of ideas and  
contemplation of the truth prevails. We  
have seen in the past weeks several dis-  
graceful incidents where administrations  
have given in to blackmail and threats.  
In some cases, the faculty has not backed  
the administration and in other cases  
the administration has not backed the  
faculty

Whatever the reasons for this failure  
of will, the fact remains that thousands  
of innocent students and teachers are  
being deprived of their rights to engage  
in the ordinary pursuit of studies Last  
September, the Director of the FBI, Mr.  
J. Edgar Hoover, warned that this dis-  
ruption was being planned He said

It is vitally important to recognize that  
these militant extremists are not simply  
faddists or "college kids" at play Their cries  
for revolution and their advocacy of guerrilla  
warfare evolve out of a pathological hatred  
for our way of life and a determination  
to destroy it The workshops they hold on  
sabotage and how to use it to further their  
objectives are grim forebodings of serious  
threat

Mr Hoover went on to predict the  
coming disruptions He said

The New Left leaders plan to launch a  
widespread attack on educational institutions  
this fall They are relying on collegiate dis-  
sidents and militants to bolster and accel-  
erate this drive It would be foolhardy for  
educators public officials, and law enforce-  
ment officers to ignore or dismiss lightly the  
revolutionary terrorism invading college  
campuses It is a serious threat to both the  
academic community and a lawful and  
orderly society

The accuracy of his prediction can be  
seen by anyone who reads the news-  
papers. Since September 1968, there have  
been demonstrations at over 200 colleges  
and universities More than 2,000 students  
have been arrested There have been 25  
cases of arson or bombings on university  
campuses All in all, at least a million  
dollars in property damage has resulted  
These statistics show the accuracy of the  
Director's predictions Many of our  
universities have been affected,  
such as the University of California at  
Berkeley, the University of Wisconsin,  
Yale University, Howard University,  
Harvard University, the University of  
Arizona, the University of Colorado, Cor-  
nell University, not to mention others  
which may have come under siege this  
fall

Since the Federal Government has be-  
come deeply involved in the financing of  
universities and university programs and  
scholarships, it is obvious that the Fed-  
eral Government has a significant stake  
in the orderly operation of these pro-  
grams The Federal Government cannot  
continue to provide such funds without  
also taking the responsibility to insure  
that the funds are spent in an orderly  
manner I have therefore drafted legisla-  
tion which would provide for a fine of  
\$5,000 or imprisonment of up to 3 years  
for any of those who interfere with the  
orderly administration or operation of a  
federally assisted institution or conspire  
with any other persons for such inter-  
ference

Mr President, I ask unanimous con-  
sent that the statement of Mr. J. Edgar  
Hoover of September 1, 1968, from the  
FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin be printed  
at this point in the Record

There being no objection, the state-  
ment was ordered to be printed in the  
Record, as follows

MESSAGE FROM THE DIRECTOR TO A  
LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS

Millions of college students are returning  
to campuses throughout the country to be-  
gin the fall semester They represent both  
the hope and the shape of the future From  
the standpoint of educational opportunities  
and intelligence, they are far better equipped  
than any preceding generation to participate  
constructively in developing solutions to the  
many complex problems confronting our  
Nation

It can be expected that most of these young  
people will fulfill the promise they repre-  
sent to us In so doing, they will join hands  
with the millions of Americans of good will  
who actively seek meaningful solutions to  
our social life If our joint progress in this  
regard is impeded and deterred, much of  
the trouble will come from a growing band  
of self-styled revolutionaries who are using  
college campuses as a base for their destruc-  
tive activities This comparatively small  
group of arrogant, hard-core militants have  
contempt for the majority and our demo-  
cratic processes They regard themselves as  
the nucleus of an elite dictatorial ruling  
class of the future

These extremists openly avow that their  
aim is to overthrow the existing order Under  
the guise of academic freedom and freedom  
of speech, they profess to seek a dialog,  
when actually what they seek is a confronta-  
tion with established authority to provoke  
disorder Through these confrontations, they  
expect to smash first our educational struc-  
ture, then our economic system, and finally  
our government itself

It is vitally important to recognize that  
these militant extremists are not simply  
faddists or "college kids" at play Their cries  
for revolution and their advocacy of guer-  
rilla warfare evolve out of a pathological  
hatred for our way of life and a determina-  
tion to destroy it The workshops they hold  
on sabotage and how to use it to further  
their objectives are grim forebodings of se-  
rious intent.

This New Left movement, as it is known,  
is growing both in numbers and varied forms  
of violence Last spring, major disorders  
precipitated by the revolutionary adherents  
of the movement occurred on a number of  
college campuses In the violent uprising  
at Columbia University, militant students  
and outsiders took over several buildings  
and committed senseless and deliberate de-  
struction The incident triggered similar dis-  
turbances on other campuses Changes may  
be necessary and improvements in any in-  
stitution can be made, but this is not the  
way to do it

Encouraged by their "success" at Colum-  
bia, the anarchists in the New Left move-  
ment are boldly spreading the word that  
they intend to "create two, three, many Co-  
lumbias," in the manner of one of their  
"heroes," Che Guevara, the Cuban revolu-  
tionary who cried "create two, three, many  
Vietnams!"

The main thrust of the New Left move-  
ment arises from the concerted efforts of  
the Students for a Democratic Society. Many

of its members and some of its national  
leaders openly profess their faith in com-  
munist concepts and their determination to  
"restructure" our society One of the mili-  
tant spokesmen of this group stated for  
example, that "perhaps 25 universities"  
asked to the movement would be too much  
for the police—for the dominant class—and  
we would get what we demand"

The New Left leaders plan to launch a  
widespread attack on educational institu-  
tions this fall They are relying on col-  
legiate dissidents and militants to bolster  
and accelerate this drive It would be fool-  
hardy for educators, public officials, and  
law enforcement officers to ignore or dismiss  
lightly the revolutionary terrorism invading  
college campuses It is a serious threat to  
both the academic community and a law-  
ful and orderly society.

SEPTEMBER 1, 1968.  
J. EDGAR HOOVER,  
Director.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-29-2004 BY

b6  
b7c

Congressional Record  
April 25, 1969

62-52026-94X  
Let to Thurmond only  
#29-69  
JCS/cac  
8/1/69

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-29-2004 BY [REDACTED]

TO

Mr. Bishop *BW*

FROM

M. A. Jones *MAJ*

SUBJECT

SENATOR STROM THURMOND  
(R - S.C.)  
INQUIRY CONCERNING RACIAL STRIFE IN  
CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

On 5/7/69, [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] Senator Thurmond, advised Special Agent [REDACTED]  
the Senator has been hearing rumors to the effect that there may  
be violence in Charleston, South Carolina, this weekend, grow-  
ing out of the current strike by a predominantly Negro group  
against the hospital there. He stated the Senator has no specific  
information but had instructed him to call the FBI about this  
matter and to express his hope that the FBI will be alert to pos-  
sible difficulties.

Several prominent Negro leaders, including  
Ralph Abernathy and Mrs. Coretta King, are involved in the  
demonstrations connected with this strike.

[REDACTED] was advised that we are aware of the  
situation in Charleston and that the Senator can be assured we  
are carrying out our responsibilities with respect to this matter.

## RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Rosen

DWB:jmp (8)

REC-28

MAY 9 1969

CORRESPONDENCE

70 MAY 16 1969

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-29-2004 BY [REDACTED]

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. Bishop

FROM : M. A. Jones *D.C.*

SUBJECT : [REDACTED]  
MEETING WITH THE DIRECTOR

DATE May 15, 1969

*John*  
*4/15*  
*D.C.*  
On 5/14/69, [REDACTED] in Office of Senator Strom Thurmond (R - S.C.), telephonically called Bureau Headquarters and advised that [REDACTED] a student in medical school at the University of Kentucky, Lexington, to some of the major attractions around Washington and asked if it would be possible for them to visit the Bureau for a tour about 4:30 p.m. on 5/14. [REDACTED] accompanied by a summer intern in the Senator's Office, [REDACTED] arrived at Bureau Headquarters about 4:40 p.m. [REDACTED] at that time stated she would considered it a great honor and privilege to meet Mr. Hoover.

*D.C.*  
The three were escorted to the Director's Office by Special Agent [REDACTED] did see them briefly and had a photograph taken with them. The Director indicated that he would send each of them an autographed copy of the photograph. [REDACTED] later requested that the photographs be delivered to the Senator's Office. She stated the meeting with Mr. Hoover was the highlight of their day's sightseeing which included a special tour of the White House. Following the meeting with Mr. Hoover, they were taken on a special tour of Bureau Headquarters.

The photographs taken are being handled separately.

## RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Bishop

DWB:jmb (7)

70 MAY 23 1969

EX-100 ✓

REC-124

94-63539-10  
62-52026-94x2  
3 MAY 20 1969

CRIME RESEARCH

DO-6

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

May 19, 1969

Dear Mr. Hoover,

The most meaningful experience  
I have had in Washington was meeting  
you. Strom and I admire you for  
your dedicated service and we revere  
all that you stand for.

You were most generous to take  
time to meet with my sister and me.  
We will always treasure those moments along  
with the lovely photograph you sent us.

Strom sends his warmest regards to you.

Sincerely,

[redacted signature box]

edm

REC 29

62-52026-94X3  
MAY 27 1969

Photo sent 5/14/69  
no Ack necessary  
8/1/69

MR TOLSON ✓  
MR DELOACH ✓  
MR MOHR ✓  
MR BISHOP ✓  
MR CASPER ✓  
MR CALLAHAN ✓  
MR CONRAD ✓  
MR FELT ✓  
MR GALE ✓  
MR ROSEN ✓  
MR SULLIVAN ✓  
MR TAVEL ✓  
MR TROTTER ✓  
MR JONES ✓  
TELE ROOM ✓  
MISS HOLMES ✓  
MRS METCALF ✓  
MISS GANDY ✓

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vel  
P.H.

apc 2204  
540 N. Street S.W.  
Washington, D.C.

b6  
b7c

51 JUN 218  
JUN 11 1969

Strom, Linda

Mrs Strom Thurmond  
May 19, 1969

Dear Mr Hoover,

The most meaningful experience I have had in Washington was meeting you. Strom and I admire you for your dedicated service and we revere all that you stand for.

You were most generous to take time to meet with my sister and me. We will always treasure those moments along with the lovely photograph you sent us. Strom sends his warmest regards to you.

Sincerely,

b6  
b7c

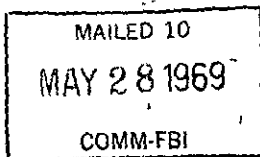
May 27, 1969

Honorable Strom Thurmond  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C. 20510

My dear Senator:

Thank you for your kind remarks which appeared  
in the Congressional Record of May 26th. It was indeed thought-  
ful of you to comment as you did and I am grateful for your high  
regard for my administration of this Bureau. I also want to  
express my appreciation to you for having inserted into the Record  
numerous editorials from various newspapers throughout the coun-  
try concerning my 45th Anniversary as Director of the FBI. I hope  
my future efforts will continue to merit your approval.

Sincerely yours,  
J. Edgar Hoover



1 - Columbia

NOTE: Senator Thurmond is on the Special Correspondents List.

Olson \_\_\_\_\_  
Loach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

HCS:hak (5)

JUN 12 1969

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐



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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-29-2004 BY [REDACTED]

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**FBI DIRECTOR J EDGAR HOOVER**

Mr THURMOND Mr. President, earlier this month, certain individuals began spreading the word that Mr. J Edgar Hoover would retire on the occasion of his 45th anniversary as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. In many cases these prognostications were made with no small degree of wishful anticipation by those who would stand to gain by the loss of this dedicated American to Government service.

The only thing these individuals proved by their baseless reports of Mr. Hoover's impending retirement was how little they

Congressional Record  
May 26, 1969, Pages S5623 and 5624

let to Sen. Thurmond  
5/27/69  
HCS/kab

62-52026-94x4

~~94-63539-13~~

ENCLOSURE

JH✓

and this man J Edgar Hoover is dedication and determination. He has fought to protect the best interests of the American people for 45 years and does not intend to stop fighting merely because some few would wish

Mr Hoover enjoys good health and is a man of tremendous vigor. He has publicly announced his intention to continue as Director of the FBI, and in doing so, he has engendered a sigh of relief from the great majority of Americans while bringing disappointment and consternation to extremists and subversives of every ilk.

Many newspapers across the country have recently published fitting tributes to Mr Hoover.

Mr President, I ask unanimous consent that the following editorials be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks "Hoover Marches On" from the State Journal, Lansing, Mich., May 9, 1969, "Mr Hoover Stays On" from the Paterson News, Paterson, N.J., May 9, 1969, "Bad News for Communists J Edgar Hoover To Stay On" from Orlando Sentinel, Orlando Fla., May 12, 1969, "A Remarkable Man" from the Napa Register, Napa, Calif., May 8, 1969, and "Forty-Five Years of Great Service" from the Globe Democrat, St. Louis, Mo., May 12, 1969.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the State Journal, Lansing (Mich.), May 9, 1969]

#### HOOPER MARCHES ON

Charles de Gaulle has passed from the world scene, astronauts have been to the moon and back, militant students are challenging university administrators and international communism is split down the middle in this fast changing world.

Through it all the almost legendary figure of J Edgar Hoover has remained like a solid oak tree in spite of frequent prophecies that the aging director of the FBI would soon be put out to pasture.

Just to make sure the prophets get the picture, Hoover announced Thursday he has no intention of retiring and looks forward to many more years in office to "meet the crisis" in American society.

In these days when anarchy and lawlessness are on the upsurge, it's a reassuring thought that the old warrior will still be around for a while.

[From the Paterson (N.J.) News, May 9, 1969]

#### MR. HOOPER STAYS ON

FBI Director J Edgar Hoover has given the country the best piece of news it has had in these months of turmoil and turbulence and for it we all have much to be grateful for.

Perhaps with the wish the father of the thought it has been "rumored" in certain circles that since on Saturday he will mark his 45th anniversary as head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, he will use the day to announce his retirement.

The thought of retirement is the further from Mr Hoover's mind and he let it be known with characteristic vigor that he does not only not contemplate retirement but that he looks forward to many more years service "to meet the crisis in American society."

There is unquestionably a strong element in the United States which would like to see him out of the picture. He knows the

price, he knows the arch-conspirators and they know he knows which increases their hatred for him and their desire to see him go.

American cannot now afford the loss of Mr Hoover, especially in the dangerous circumstance of an apparent central conspiracy to build rebellion around campus upheavals. And while the liberal purists will accuse those who feel this is true of seeing mystic bad men under the university bed, it is gospel truth and must be so regarded, earnestly and relentlessly.

[From the Orlando (Fla.) Sentinel  
May 12, 1969]

#### BAD NEWS FOR COMMUNISTS J EDGAR HOOPER TO STAY ON

J Edgar Hoover, 74, has squashed rumors he is stepping down as director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

And few can find fault with this, because, even at 74 his mind remains lucid, his knowledge of communism in America unparalleled, his philosophies of law and order a national ideal, and his genius for keeping the FBI beyond reproach as ample as ever.

These are reasons why Presidents Johnson and Nixon have allowed him to remain past the mandatory retirement age of 70 for federal employees.

In the coming months his knowledge of communism may become particularly invaluable.

Warnings about communism in America lost a great deal of their punch after the downfall of the late Sen Joe McCarthy, but Hoover's voice never wavered. Five years ago he predicted a Communist youth movement in America.

In recent times, this appeared a bit far-fetched to many. Communism's kinglypins, Russia and Red China were exchanging insults. The Communist bloc was shaken by Russia's invasion of Czechoslovakia. Communism hadn't rebuilt Cuba. Red upheavals in South America waned. A bitter split rent the American Communist party.

Then, out of the blue, came the campus riots, and America discovered a militant "New Left" among its youth, firebrand activists who knew Marx better than Jefferson, the Communist Manifesto better than the U.S. Constitution.

The Communist party wasn't agog long over the unexpected windfall, and has moved fast, Hoover said.

"Although virtually devoid of an effective youth arm of its own, the Communist Party has succeeded in penetrating and influencing a number of militant youth organizations—particularly those of the so-called New Left. The party considers the field to be so fertile at this time, in fact, that it presently is making plans to start a new youth organization this fall."

Communism sees an easy target in the misguided segment of our youth, and we need J Edgar Hoover to help hold damage to a minimum until the militants grow up and come face-to-face with the realities of life.

[From the Napa (Calif.) Register, May 8, 1969]

#### A REMARKABLE MAN

This Saturday is a very special occasion for a very special American.

John Edgar Hoover marks his 45th anniversary as director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The FBI had been established in 1903, but when Mr Hoover took over command of the agency on May 10, 1924, a complete transformation of the organization was carried out.

A fingerprint division was established (which now includes a file of millions of fingerprints) and numerous functions within the FBI were altered to provide the most up-to-date, flexible operation possible.

A part of the Department of Justice, the

has the responsibility of investigating espionage, sabotage, treason and other matters pertaining to internal security. The agency also makes investigations under the Selective Service and Training Act.

Mr Hoover was a law graduate of George Washington University in 1918. He went to work for the Department of Justice the following year.

Since his initial appointment as FBI director, he has been re-appointed to the post by every president of the United States. He has done an effective job and the "automatic" determination of the nation's leaders to have him continue in that post is a fine tribute to this most remarkable man.

Actually, though, Mr Hoover is not admired by all people. There are many who are associated with the world of crime who dislike the FBI and its leader—and with good reason. Federal agents have waged a continuing war against crime. U.S. prisons are filled with those who felt they could outsmart the FBI. Communist agents in this country do not appreciate the efforts of Mr. Hoover and his organization, just as Nazi agents functioning in the United States, in the days of World War II, found that their efforts were destined for failure because of FBI vigilance.

For the average American, there may be little opportunity to have any personal contact with the FBI, except perhaps some routine check for a federal appointment or job or via a television program or movie portrayal of the agents at work.

But for those who flout federal laws, there will be good reason to have contact with FBI agents.

The FBI has provided tremendous assistance to other law enforcement agencies throughout the nation—and to agencies in other nations.

When the Federal Bureau of Investigation is considered by those in law enforcement, it is in the highest of terms.

During these past 45 years Mr. Hoover has done a magnificent job. This Saturday, as he observes a most significant anniversary, it may be hoped that he can reflect with great satisfaction the idea that he has been one of the nation's most outstanding citizens, doing something of great value to preserve the American way of life.

[From the St. Louis (Mo.) Globe Democrat, May 12, 1969]

#### FORTY-FIVE YEARS OF GREAT SERVICE

The American left wing, which dislike FBI Director J Edgar Hoover's tough stand on law enforcement, is beside itself because it can't find any genuine grounds for demanding his replacement.

In desperation ultra liberals have been calling for Mr Hoover's resignation because of his age, though he is still in good health and performing his duties as effectively as ever.

We are happy to note that Mr Hoover, who is 74, has announced that he has many plans for the future, but "none of them includes retirement." The respected FBI chief marked his 45th anniversary this last weekend, as head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Instead of back-biting references to Hoover's age, he deserves a solid vote of thanks from the nation for his effective and courageous performance year after year.

Director Hoover is a man of great integrity. If and when he feels his health is slipping, he will be the first to recognize the fact and submit his resignation.

We would much prefer to have a 74-year-old J. Edgar Hoover directing the FBI than a young man half his age with the view of a Ramsey Clark.

JOHN C. STENNIS, MISS., CHAIRMAN

RICHARD B. RUSSELL, GA.  
STUART SYMINGTON, MO.  
HENRY M. JACKSON, WASH.  
SAM J. ERVIN, JR., N.C.  
HOWARD W. CANNON, NEV.  
STEPHEN M. YOUNG, OHIO  
DANIEL K. INOUE, HAWAII  
THOMAS J. MCINTYRE, N.H.  
HARRY F. BYRD, JR., VA.

MARGARET CHASE SMITH, MAINE  
STROM THURMOND, S.C.  
JOHN G. TOWER, TEX.  
PETER H. DOMINICK, CALIF.  
GEORGE MURPHY, CALIF.  
EDWARD W. BROOKE, MASS.  
BARRY GOLDWATER, ARIZ.  
RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER, PA.

T. EDWARD BRASWELL, JR., CHIEF OF STAFF  
CHARLES B. KIRBOW, CHIEF CLERK

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

June 2, 1969

Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

The Hon. J. Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you  
for seeing [redacted] during their  
recent visit to the F. B. I.

They were very thrilled to have their picture made with  
you. They hold you in much high esteem. Thank you for  
the kind words you had to say to them about me, my stock  
went up after their visit to you.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Sincerely,

*Strom Thurmond*  
Strom Thurmond

ST:n

REC-15 62-52026-95

JUN 9 1969

JUN 16 1969

no other necessary  
[signature]

June 2, 1969

Honorable Strom Thurmond  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C. 20510

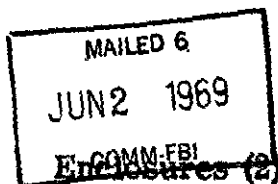
My dear Senator:

I am enclosing two advance copies of the June, 1969, issue of the FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin for your information. Beginning on page 12, we feature an article by Mr. J. P. Strom, Chief, South Carolina Law Enforcement Division, Columbia, South Carolina, entitled "Closed-Circuit Television for Inservice Police Training." Knowing of your continuing interest in effective law enforcement, I thought you might like to see Mr. Strom's excellent presentation.

The Bulletin, a monthly publication, is one of the many cooperative services of the FBI. It is distributed to law enforcement members without charge and is a medium through which police officials and other executives can, in by-line articles, report on successful projects and investigative achievements.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



REC-115

1969 JUN 3 1969

1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Bishop

NOTE: Senator Thurmond (R.-South Carolina) is on the Special Correspondents List. This letter is in compliance with a suggestion approved in M. A. Jones to Bishop Memo dated 12-18-67 that each month two copies of the Bulletin be sent to friendly Congressmen whose districts or states cover localities of by-line articles published.

CBF:ghm (9)

JUN 3 1969

JOHN C STENNIS MISS, CHAIRMAN  
RICHARD B RUSSELL, GA  
STUART SYMINGTON, MO  
HENRY M JACKSON, WASH  
SAM J ERVIN, JR, N C  
HOWARD W CANNON, NEV,  
STEPHEN M YOUNG, OHIO  
DANIEL K INOUE HAWAII  
THOMAS J MCINTYRE, N.H.  
HARRY F BYRD, JR, VA.  
MARGARET CHASE  
STROM THURMOND, S.C.  
JOHN G TOWER, TEX  
PETER H DOMINICK, COLO  
GEORGE MURPHY, CALIF  
EDWARD W BROOKE, MASS  
BARRY GOLDWATER, ARIZ  
RICHARD S SCHWEIKER, PA.

T EDWARD BRASWELL JR CHIEF OF STAFF  
CHARLES B KIRBOW, CHIEF CLERK

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

WASHINGTON, D C 20510

June 6, 1969

Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. DeLoach ✓  
Mr. Mohr ✓  
Mr. Bishop ✓  
Mr. Casper ✓  
Mr. Callahan ✓  
Mr. Conrad ✓  
Mr. Felt ✓  
Mr. Gale ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Sullivan ✓  
Mr. Tavel ✓  
Mr. Trotter ✓  
Tele Room ✓  
Miss Holmes ✓  
Miss Gandy ✓

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
F.B.I.  
U. S. Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Your nice letter of June 2, attaching a copy of the FBI  
Law Enforcement Bulletin for June 1969, has been received.

I shall take pleasure in reading the article referred to  
in your letter by J. P. Strom, Chief, South Carolina Law  
Enforcement Division, Columbia, South Carolina.

I understand that the closed-circuit television for  
inservice police training down there is doing a fine job.  
Chief Strom is a cousin of mine, and he began working with  
the Law Enforcement Division many years ago when I was  
Governor. He is a very competent fellow, and I am proud  
of the service he has rendered to our State and Nation.

I hope you are doing nicely, and with kindest regards and  
best wishes,

Sincerely,

*Strom*  
Strom Thurmond

ST/a

REC-54

10 JUN 9 1969

20 JUN 27 1969

CORRESPONDENCE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-29-2004 BY

b6  
b7c

July 17, 1969

EX-111

62-52026-96X

REC-20 94-63539-14

Honorable Strom Thurmond  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C. 20510

My dear Senator:

In response to your kind letter of July 14th,  
it is indeed a pleasure to send, under separate cover,  
one of my photographs which I have autographed to you.  
I am honored by your request.

With kindest regards,

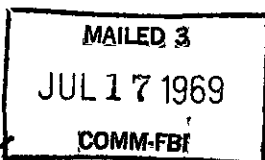
Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

1 - Columbia - Enclosure

NOTE: Senator Thurmond is on the Special Correspondents List,  
and Identification Division records contain no pertinent information.

ALA:kce (5)



JOHN C STENNIS, MISS, CHAIRMAN  
RICHARD RUSSELL, GA  
STUART SYMINGTON MO  
HENRY M JACKSON WASH  
SAM J ERVIN, JR, N C  
HOWARD W CANNON, NEV  
STEPHEN M YOUNG, OHIO  
DANIEL K INOUE, HAWAII  
THOMAS J MCINTYRE N H  
HARRY F BYRD, JR, VA  
MARGARET CHASE SMITH MAINE  
STROM THURMOND S C  
JOHN G TOWER, TEX  
PETER H DOMINICK, COLO  
GEORGE MURPHY, CALIF  
EDWARD W BROOKE MASS  
BARRY GOLDWATER, ARIZ  
RICHARD S SCHWEIKER, PA

T EDWARD BRASWELL, JR, CHIEF OF STAFF  
CHARLES B KIRBOW, CHIEF CLERK

# United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

WASHINGTON, D C 20510

July 14, 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-29-2004 BY [REDACTED]

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
F. B. I.  
United States Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

b6  
b7C

Dear Mr. Hoover:

It would be deeply appreciated if you would send me  
an autographed photograph of yourself. It will be a  
pleasure to have it hung in my new office along with  
other distinguished Americans.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Strom  
Strom Thurmond

ST:f

( Size eight by ten. )

EX-111

62-52026-96X

REC-20

94-65537-11

15 JUL 18 1969

ack  
7-17-69  
AVA/ke

CORRESPONDENCE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-29-2004 BY [redacted]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan

DeLoach ☒  
Mohr ☒  
Bishop ☒  
Casper ☒  
Callahan ☒  
Conrad ☒  
Felt ☒  
Gale ☒  
Rosen ☒  
Sullivan ☒  
Tavel ☒  
Trotter ☒  
Tele. Room ☒  
Holmes ☒  
Gandy ☒

DATL 7/8/69

- 1 - Mr. G.C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. R.H. Horner

TO Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT SENATOR STROM THURMOND  
(R. - SOUTH CAROLINA)

## SYNOPSIS:

This memorandum recommends that information regarding [redacted] be orally furnished [redacted] to Senator Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.).

[redacted] advised the Bureau Senator Thurmond had seen an article in a South Carolina newspaper in which [redacted] reportedly stated that there was going to be a revolution in this country unless things change. [redacted] supposedly had had "secret contact" with leaders of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the Black Panther Party (BPP). [redacted] has the reputation of [redacted] and is under investigation by state and Federal authorities in this regard. [redacted] was interviewed by Bureau Agents on 7/7/69 and stated information in the press was not true and that he did not know of any groups, including SDS and the BPP, which were planning violent revolution. Agents observed on occasion of interview with [redacted] that his eyes appeared glassy [redacted]

## RECOMMENDATION:

That [redacted] background and the results of the interview by our Agents with him be orally furnished to [redacted] to Senator Strom Thurmond by the Crime Records Division.

NOT RECORDED

183 JUL 17 1969

RHH:jcs  
(7)

DETAILS - OVER

5 JUL 14 1969

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-14226-4

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b7C

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b7C

b6  
b7C

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b7C



Memo to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: SENATOR STROM THURMOND  
(R.-SOUTH CAROLINA)

DETAILS:

This memorandum recommends that information regarding [redacted] be orally furnished to [redacted] to Senator Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.).

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[redacted] to Senator Strom Thurmond, telephonically advised the Bureau on 7/1/69 that Senator Thurmond had seen an article in the "Florence Morning News," Florence, South Carolina, in which [redacted] had reportedly stated during a speech that there was going to be a revolution in this country unless things change. [redacted] was also supposed to have stated that he had been in "secret contact" with leaders of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and Black Panther Party (BPP) and that the revolution would begin on 7/4/69.

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b7C

Our files show that [redacted] has the reputation [redacted]

b6  
b7C

[redacted] He reportedly either [redacted] State and Federal authorities are investigating him with regard to drugs and he has been arrested by the Savannah Police Department in the past on both sodomy and drug charges.

[redacted] was recently in contact with a Senator Goodel (phonetic) (possibly identical to Senator Charles E. Goodell, R.-New York) regarding rural conditions in South Carolina. He has been active in publicizing conditions existing in rural South Carolina and reportedly participated in a program whereby Negroes were urged to avoid the draft by taking "freedom physicals" which might allow them to escape induction into a "racist army."

b6  
b7C

[redacted] was interviewed by Agents of our Columbia Office on 7/7/69 concerning his statements as appearing in the above newspaper. He stated he made a speech before the Florence Council on Human Relations, Florence, South Carolina, on 5/28/69 following which he was quoted by a Florence newspaper. [redacted] stated that the newspaper article was not

b6  
b7C

DETAILS CONTINUED - OVER

Memo to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: SENATOR STROM THURMOND  
(R.-SOUTH CAROLINA)

true. He said that he has friends across the country who are "anxious for a change." He said these people should be afforded attention because they definitely feel the only way for a change to occur is by revolution. [ ] stated that he did not know of any group, including SDS and the BPP, which had a planned timetable or a definite date for violent revolution. [ ] refused to identify those individuals or groups which he felt would resort to revolution to bring about change. He denied belonging to any group advocating such violence. [ ] stated that it is his opinion that there is less chance for violence on the racial level today than existed two months ago because of encouraging news regarding the end of the war in Vietnam.

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OBSERVATIONS:

[ ] is apparently a civil rights and antiwar activist and a man whose moral character and emotional makeup are open to question. The Columbia Office has advised that statements made by [ ] are not to be regarded as accurate. Agents observed on the occasion of their interview with him that [ ]

b6  
b7C

*Wes*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO Mr. Bishop *[Signature]*

FROM M.-A. Jones *[Signature]*

SUBJECT SENATOR STROM THURMOND  
(R - SOUTH CAROLINA)

DATE 7-1-69

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_

Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Holmes \_\_\_\_\_

Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7COn 7-1-69 [REDACTED] to *cd*

Senator Thurmond, telephonically advised that the Senator had instructed him to bring to the FBI's attention an article dated 5-29-69 in the "Florence Morning News," Florence, South Carolina. This article deals with a speech by [REDACTED] the tenor of which is as follows:

I assure you there will be a revolution -- guerilla-type warfare unless the changes come. He pinpointed the date of July 4th as the time for the revolution to begin. Gatch said he had been in "secret contact" with leaders of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the Black Panthers. He said the only to stop it is for the people to wake up.

[REDACTED] indicated he had no information as to the seriousness of these allegations and that [REDACTED] comments could be mere rhetoric.

Contact with the Domestic Intelligence Division indicates that this matter has not been brought to its attention but that this is the type of allegation which definitely should be clarified.

RECOMMENDATION: For referral to the Domestic Intelligence Division.

1 - Mr. DeLoach

1 - Mr. Bishop

1 - Mr. Sullivan

JH:mbk  
(8)

(SEE ADDENDUM - OVER)

50 JUL 29 1969

5 JUL 12 1969

OVER

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-1-1-26

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b7C

Memorandum M. A. Jones to  
Mr. Bishop  
RE: SENATOR STROM THURMOND  
(R-SOUTH CAROLINA)

7/1/69

ADDENDUM: (CDB:mls - 7/2/69)

SAC, Columbia, has been telephonically instructed to obtain the article referred to and in the absence of any reason to the contrary, to immediately locate and interview  to pin this down. He was instructed to submit a teletype with all the facts by 9 am, 7/3/69, with recommendations for any additional action deemed necessary. We will follow this closely and keep you advised.

b6  
b7c

1-Mr. DeLoach  
1-Mr. Bishop  
1-Mr. Sullivan

WC5/6

✓

D JH

PB  
JH

5

November 10, 1969

ST-110

62-52026-96X1

REC-23

Honorable Strom Thurmond  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C. 20510

My dear Senator:

Mr. Tolson has shown me your communication of November 5th which enclosed a copy of a letter from [REDACTED] Covert, Michigan. Since the information he furnished might be of interest to another Government agency, I am forwarding it to the Director of the United States Secret Service.

I appreciate your thoughtfulness in furnishing us this information.

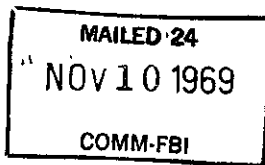
Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Senator Thurmond is on the Special Correspondents List. A copy of incoming, with enclosure, being sent to Secret Service by referral form of same date.

DMW:ekw (4)

Leib  
To:son \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



51 NOV 20 1969

TELETYPE UNIT

DATE 12-29-2004 BY [REDACTED]

JOHN C. STENNIS, MISS, CHAIRMAN

RICHARD B. RUSSELL, GA.  
STUART SYMINGTON, MO  
HENRY M. JACKSON, WASH  
SAM J. ERVIN, JR., N.C.  
HOWARD W. CANNON, NEV.  
STEPHEN M. YOUNG, OHIO  
DANIEL K. INOUE, HAWAII  
THOMAS J. MCINTYRE, N.H.  
HARRY F. BYRD, JR., VA.

MARGARET CHASE SMITH  
STROM THURMOND, S.  
JOHN G. TOWER, TEX.  
PETER H. DOMINICK, COLO.  
GEORGE MURPHY, CALIF.  
EDWARD W. BROOKE, MASS.  
BARRY GOLDWATER, ARIZ.  
RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER, PA.

T. EDWARD BRASWELL, JR., CHIEF OF STAFF

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20510

November 5, 1969

Tolson	✓
DeLoach	✓
Walters	✓
Mohr	✓
Chapman	✓
Casper	✓
Callahan	✓
Conrad	✓
Felt	✓
Gale	✓
Rosen	✓
Sullivan	✓
Tavel	✓
Soyars	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

b6  
b7C

Mr. Clyde A. Tolson, Associate Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Tolson:

The enclosed copy of a letter is self-explanatory.

This is sent to you just as a matter of information.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

*Strom Thurmond*

Strom Thurmond

ST:el

62-109276-1

ack  
DML/SCL  
11-7-69  
DMLC:ikw

REC-23

62-52026-96x1

74-63539-15

ST-110

10 NOV 12 1969

ENCLOSURE

NOV 13 1969

8/1/69  
8/1/69

TRUE COPY

[REDACTED]  
November 1, 1969

b6  
b7C

Honorable Strom Thurmond  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510  
My Dear Senator:-

After 15 years your State of S. Carolina did not and  
had no intentions to desegregation of public schools.

I know what it is to be discriminated and the sting  
of prejudice. That is why I and my parents came to United States,  
but were surprise to that was practiced and still is in our southern  
states and their representatives.

I have come to the conclusion that all southern  
senators should be assassinated for they have only encouraged and  
fouth White Biblical Christian Supremacy.

Sincerly yours

b7C  
b6

17C  
11-7-69  
SMJ

62-52026-96X1

~~94-63537-15~~

ENCLOSURE

17C  
NOV 13 1969

8/5/69  
S/4X

NOV 3 1969

[REDACTED]  
NOVEMBER 1, 1969

HONORABLE STROM THURMOND  
UNITED STATES SENATE  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510  
MY DEAR SENATOR:-

After 15 years your State of S. Carolina did not and had no intentions to desegregation of public schools.

I know what it is to be discriminated and the sting of prejudice. That is why I and my parents came to United States, but were surprise to that was practiced and still is in our southern states and their representatives.

I have come to the conclusion that all southern senators should be assassinated for they have only encouraged and fouth White Biblical Christian Supremacy.

Sincerely yours  
[REDACTED]



OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10  
MAY 1962 EDITION  
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO: Mr. W. C. Sullivan *new 9/5*

FROM: C. D. Brennan

SUBJECT: TESTIMONY - SENATE INTERNAL  
SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE (SISS)  
THE ACADEMIC FREEDOM PROTECTIVE ACT OF 1969

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop  
1 - Administration Review  
DATE August 13, 1969 Unit

1 - Central Research Unit  
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore  
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan  
1 - [redacted]  
1 - [redacted]

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_

Reference is made to memorandum from T. E. Bishop to Mr. DeLoach dated 8/6/69 (attached), which enclosed a transcript of the testimony of Senator Strom Thurmond (R-South Carolina) and Jerris Leonard, Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division, Department of Justice, before the above Subcommittee.

Senator Thurmond's testimony relates to S. 1988 (The Academic Freedom Protective Act of 1969) introduced by him on 4/25/69 which proposes an amendment to the Internal Security Act of 1950. His proposed legislation would make it a Federal crime with criminal sanctions to prevent, obstruct, or interfere with the orderly administration of any federally assisted educational institution.

Mr. Leonard advised the Subcommittee that he wished to reiterate some basic principles that have been emphasized by President Nixon and Administration spokesmen including the Attorney General. Mr. Leonard outlined the Administration's position on campus disorders as a problem of national concern, however, that the primary responsibility belongs to the schools involved. The answer according to Mr. Leonard was not enactment of new legislation but enforcement of existing laws and regulations by school officials.

S. 1988 is similar to a number of other bills recently introduced which we have evaluated, specifically S. 2677 introduced by Senator John L. McClellan (D-Arkansas). These bills, including S. 1988, would involve the Bureau in relatively minor campus problems of various kinds, expose us to possible criticism even though unjustified, and at best produce limited prosecutive actions.

TPD:hls/mst  
(13)

NOT RECORDED

46 CONTINUED - OVER  
AUG 25 1969

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-443885-3

ENCLOSURE

52 SEP 9 1969

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: TESTIMONY - SENATE INTERNAL  
SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE (SISS)  
THE ACADEMIC FREEDOM PROTECTIVE ACT OF 1969

ACTION:

None, for information. Our views on S. 1988 have  
not been requested. S. 1988 will be closely followed.

ND  
S  
J  
WCS  
✓  
B  
RM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO

Mr. DeLoach

DATE 8/6/69

FROM

T. E. Bishop

SUBJECT

TESTIMONY - SENATE INTERNAL  
SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE (SISS)  
THE ACADEMIC FREEDOM PROTECTIVE ACT OF 1969

The following volume of testimony has been  
received from the SISS:

Volume 1, August 5, 1969

Testimony of:

Senator Strom Thurmond, United States Senator  
from South Carolina

Jerris Leonard, Assistant Attorney General,  
Civil Rights Division, Department of Justice

A copy of the testimony is being sent to the Domestic  
Intelligence Division for appropriate review. The original testimony  
has been returned to the SISS.

1 - Mr. Sizoo

1 - [redacted] 722 9&D (enclosure)

TEB:jo  
(4)

ORIGINAL FILED IN

b6  
b7C

*Handwritten:* Memo CD Brennan  
to Sullivan  
S-H-69.TPD  
100-443853-1888  
62-52026-  
ENCLOSURE  
REC-3  
NOT RECORDED  
48 AUG 25 1969

62-52026-96x2

July 1, 1970

RF REC-20

Honorable Strom Thurmond  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C. 20510

My dear Senator:

Thank you for your communication of June 23rd enclosing  
copies of correspondence between [redacted] of Camden,  
South Carolina, and you.

We do need the assistance and support of concerned citizens  
in fulfilling our responsibilities and [redacted] interest in our work is  
greatly appreciated. I must point out, however, that law enforcement is  
a complex, specialized profession which requires the services of highly  
trained personnel to carry out the investigations which comprise the bulk  
of our work. These investigators not only require intensive training before  
being assigned for the performance of their duties, but they must also  
remain constantly abreast of the latest developments in the field of law  
enforcement, which is itself a continuing project. Over and above the  
required training these investigators must submit to administrative con-  
trol and guidance to carefully guard against any misuse of their authority.  
A "volunteer" group does not readily lend itself to any of these basic  
requirements and, in truth, carries within itself the possibility of becoming  
an uncontrolled vigilante group.

b6  
b7C

The concerned Citizens can best be of help to law enforcement  
if they will furnish information that comes to their attention, and which they  
believe to be of value, to the appropriate law enforcement agency.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Senator Thurmond is on the Special Correspondents List.  
Bufiles contain no record [redacted]

JBT:cae (5)

JUL 10 1970

TELETYPE UNIT

b6  
b7C

Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. DeLoach ✓  
Mr. Walters ✓  
Mr. Mohr ✓  
Mr. Bishop ✓  
Mr. Casper ✓  
Mr. Callahan ✓  
Mr. Conrad ✓  
Mr. Felt ✓  
Mr. Gale ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Sullivan ✓  
Mr. Tavel ✓  
Mr. Soyars ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Miss Holmes ✓  
Miss Gandy ✓

b6  
b7c

**United States Senate**

WASHINGTON, D. C.

June 23, 1970

RE: Attached

TO: Federal Bureau of Investigation  
4936 30th Place  
Washington, D. C. 20008

Sir:

The attached is respectfully referred to  
you for such consideration as it may warrant  
and for a report thereon in duplicate, if  
possible.

Your assistance in enabling me to provide  
a prompt response to my constituent is greatly  
appreciated.

Sincerely,

*Strom Thurmond*

Strom Thurmond  
United States Senator  
(R- South Carolina)

ack/omh (sch)  
JBT/ace  
7-15-70  
7-20-70

JUN 26 1970

Thurmond. Sch  
Hall - [unclear]

JUL 2 1970

JOHN C. STENNIS, MISS., CHAIRMAN

RICHARD B. RUSSELL, GA  
STUART SYMINGTON, MO  
HENRY M. JACKSON, WASH  
SAM J. ERVIN, JR., N.C.  
HOWARD W. CANNON, NEV  
STEPHEN M. YOUNG, OHIO  
DANIEL K. INOUE, HAWAII  
THOMAS J. MCINTYRE, N.H.  
HARRY F. BYRD, JR., VA

MARGARET CHASE SMITH, MAINE  
STROM THURMOND, S.C.  
JOHN G. TOWER, TEX.  
PETER H. DOMINICK, COLO.  
GEORGE MURPHY, CALIF.  
EDWARD W. BROOKE, MASS.  
BARRY GOLDWATER, ARIZ.  
RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER, PA.

T. EDWARD BRASWELL, JR., CHIEF OF STAFF

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

June 23, 1970

Dear [REDACTED]

Thank you for your kind letter of recent date and for the outline of the organization which we discussed on the telephone recently.

You certainly have done a thorough job in outlining the project and you are to be commended for your imagination and careful preparation.

With a project of this size, you can understand why it would take a little time for me to evaluate it properly and to receive counsel from other interested colleagues. Therefore, I will take this matter up with a contact in the FBI, as well as with others here on the Hill, and will be back in touch with you later.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Sincerely,

Strom Thurmond

ST:mi

62-52026-96x2

94-63539-7

JUNE 11, 1970

The Honorable Strom Thurman  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator:

Thank you for calling this morning. I tried not to waste your time with details when you called. As you requested, I will try to explain in more detail the purpose and organization of the plan.

The basic premise of the plan is "Truth will make you free." I am firmly convinced this is correct and unless more people know the truth, we will lose the freedom which has been our American heritage.

When I called you, I thought I had come up with an original idea. Since then I read in the Readers Digest, June 1970, "America's Citizen Crime Fighters." The article indicates the idea is not only not original, but has been tried and found quite effective on a local basis. There obviously are many possibilities. What I had in mind was aimed more toward national security and education of the public to the fact our Constitution was adequate to cover the situation without radical changes of FBI, courts, military services, police system election laws, etc.

The plan I shall present has political ramifications, and you may feel free to use it if you see fit or any variation you consider workable. I am not in a position to know whether it could work best by action of congress, executive order, amendment, or strictly a private corporation.

The following is a preliminary outline of such an organization:

I. Name - Volunteer F.B.I. Corps

II. Purposes:

- A. To save our American heritage of freedom by knowing the truth.
  1. Expose false propaganda and malicious lies.
  2. Seek truth as the source of freedom.
  3. Seek understanding of the definition of truth by various ideologies.  
e.g. J. Edgar Hoover's book Master of Deceit
- B. Promote public understanding of the purpose and duties of our V.F.I.
  1. Train corps in how to recognize and help apprehend those who could endanger our lives and property by breaking federal laws.
  2. Train corps in how to recognize enemy agents who would threaten our national security.
  3. Train corps in how to gather evidence for conviction and track down criminals such as murderers, rioters, drug peddlers, etc.
- C. Promote involvement of patriotic citizens who feel there is nothing they can do for their country by:
  1. Learning how the government works, balance power, etc.
  2. Promote feeling of contribution to function of government

94-63539-16  
62-52026-96X2  
ENCLOSURE

3. Help expose those who unjustly criticize or who would destroy our government.

4. Dispel fear of police state by allowing F.B.I. to remain small and select but get the job done with volunteer help.

D. Aid F.B.I. in the discharge of its duties

1. Collection of evidence to prosecute criminals

2. Act as witnesses in prosecution of criminals

3. Open channels of communication to inform F.B.I. of or to alert citizens to ~~crimes~~:

a. Subversive activities

b. New propaganda efforts

c. Suspects wanted

d. Instigators of riot or revolution.

E. Provide advanced training to qualified members

1. To serve in emergencies as auxiliary agents or police

2. Provide a source of new police or agents

3. Provide leadership for volunteer corps

4. Serve as liaison between F.B.I., police, and volunteer corps

F. Serve as forum for speaker's bureau approved by F.B.I. (or equivalent) as part of training program

III Organization (several possibilities)

A. Private corporation, non profit, non partisan, state oriented (for division of power)

B. Chartered by Congress

C. Direct supervision of F.B.I.

D. Direct supervision of state police

E. Direct supervision of local police

F. Joint supervision F.B.I., state, and local police

IV Considerations for public acceptance

A. Division of power to stall charge of police state

B. Control of power limited to state level

C. Membership participation even in emergency to remain voluntary thereby assuring citizen control

D. Bearing of arms not allowed unless adequately trained and deputized by state police or state National Guard

E. Publicity and endorsement from reliable sources

F. Preliminary applications available to public by advertisement in news papers

V Qualifications for membership

A. American citizen

1. by birth

2. By naturalization

B. Oath of allegiance to U.S.

C. No membership in subversive organization or allegiance to a foreign government

D. Age

1. Junior Corps, age 12 - 20

2. Senior Corps, age 21 and over

E. Qualifications may be changed by recommendation of F.P.I. and ratification by membership

VI Types of Membership

A. Charter members

1. Those meeting qualifications

2. Accepted for membership during first year.



B. Active members

1. Those continuing to meet qualifications for membership
2. Those continuing to meet standards of training and attendance

C. Training members

1. Those continuing to meet qualifications for membership
2. Those who have not completed standards of training
3. Those meeting attendance requirements

D. Technical members

1. Those continuing to meet qualifications for membership
2. Those continuing to meet standards of training
3. Those continuing to meet standards of attendance
4. Those completing special service training designed by F.B.I.

Since I am obviously not qualified to iron out legal or technical pitfalls nor adequately promote the plan, I would like for you to use it as you see fit. I have been working on a non-political approach to the same problem for several years, and I am convinced the plan has terrific possibilities. I prefer to continue to work on a non-political approach. My only personal interest is that I may help pass on the heritage I inherited to my descendants and their fellow citizens. If I can help in any way, please call on me.

Sincerely,



TMH:gh

b6

b7c

#### VII Political Considerations

- A. Presented to Congress for charter (or bill) sponsored by House and Senate members selected on basis of past record
- B. Endorsement by
  - 1. Administration, preferably President
  - 2. F.B.I., preferably Hoover
  - 3. Pre-selected state leaders, Governor, Lt. Governor, or candidates for
  - 4. Those needing issue in campaign, state or national, or presented at state level to be recommended nationally
- C. Timing essential for full impact
- D. Organization of local chapters
- E. Publicity
  - 1. Newspaper advertisement with application forms
  - 2. Acknowledgement of receipt of application with reference to sponsor who is candidate. Importance of applicant to country security and need for support for bill in Congress. Solicitation by applicant for new applicants, family, and friends
- F. The silent majority must be activated by a cause they believe in and feel a part of in order to realize an appreciable plurality of their vote.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO MR. TOLSON

DATE 8/5/70

FROM W. C. Sullivan

cc Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Bishop  
[redacted]  
Mr. Bowers

SUBJECT REQUEST FOR TOUR FOR  
TWELVE WIVES OF EXECUTIVES ON  
STAFF OF SENATOR STROM THURMOND,  
11 a.m., 8/7/70

Sullivan  
Callahan  
Brennan C D  
Callahan  
Casper  
Conrad  
Felt  
Gale  
Rosen  
Tavel  
Walters  
Soyars  
Tele. Room  
Holmes  
Gandy

This morning [redacted] telephoned me to advise that when Mr. C. D. DeLoach was here he had handled matters personally for the Senator, and now the Senator had asked her to call me on a matter. I asked her what it was, and she said the Senator wanted to know if it would be possible to afford a special tour to twelve wives of executives on the Senator's staff, at 11 a.m., on 8/7/70.

I informed her that we had a tour service which handled these matters, and that this tour would be arranged for her at the time and date she set. This was satisfactory.

## ACTION:

With the Director's approval, I have designated Inspector David W. Bowers, of the Crime Records Division, to conduct this tour.

WCS:CSH (5)

Sikom<sup>©</sup> THURMOND

REC-52

EX-100

22 AUG 12 1970

66 AUG 24 1970

STENOGRAPH

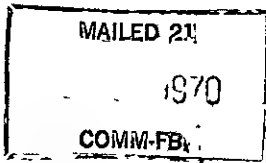
August 27, 1970

Honorable Strom Thurmond  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C. 20510

My dear Senator:

Enclosed are two advance copies of the September, 1970, FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin. Beginning on page 12 of this issue, we feature an excellent article on the modern telecommunications center recently installed by the Greenville, South Carolina, Police Department. Also, beginning on page 25, we published an interesting story on the pre-release program operated by the South Carolina Department of Corrections. I thought you might find both of these articles of interest.

Sincerely yours,



EX-110 Edgar Hoover

REC-54

19 AUG 28 1970

Enclosures (2)

- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop

NOTE: We have had good relations with Senator Thurmond (R-South Carolina) who is on the mailing list to receive the Bulletin and Uniform Crime Reports. This letter is in compliance with a suggestion approved in M. A. Jones to Bishop memo dated 12-18-67 that each month two copies of the Bulletin be sent to friendly Congressmen whose districts or states cover localities of by-line articles published.

CBF:bhm (8)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Brennan C D \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JOHN C. STENNIS, MISS., CHAIRMAN  
RICHARD B. RUSSELL, GA.  
STUART SYMINGTON, MO.  
HENRY M. JACKSON, WASH.  
SAM J. ERVIN, JR., N.C.  
HOWARD W. CANNON, NEV.  
STEPHEN M. YOUNG, OHIO  
DANIEL K. INOUE, HAWAII  
THOMAS J. MCINTYRE, N.H.  
HARRY F. BYRD, JR., VA.

MARGARET CHASE SMITH, N.H.  
STROM THURMOND, S.C.  
JOHN G. TOWER, TEX.  
PETER H. DOMINICK, COLO.  
GEORGE MURPHY CALIF.  
EDWARD W. BROOKE, MASS.  
BARRY GOLDWATER, ARIZ.  
RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER, PA.

T. EDWARD BRASWELL, JR., CHIEF OF STAFF

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20510

September 1, 1970

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	CD
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

b6  
b7C

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
U. S. Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Your letter of recent date, together with enclosure,  
has been received.

Thank you for sending me the September, 1970, FBI Law  
Enforcement Bulletin. It was very thoughtful of you  
to do this, and I deeply appreciate it.

I also appreciate the great service you and your Bureau  
are rendering to our Nation.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Sincerely,

*Strom*  
Strom Thurmond  
(R-S.C.)

ST:ei

EXP. PROC.

33 SEP 3 1970

62-52026-96X

REC-36

94 63539-19

EX-109

9 SEP 3 1970

54 SEP 16 1970

CORRESPONDENCE

*cc: [unclear]*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-29-2004 BY [redacted]

b6  
b7C

FBI

Date 8/27/70

Transmit the following in PLAIN  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES  
SUBJECT: [redacted]  
THREAT TO UNITED STATES  
SENATORS  
EXTORTION

*c 10*

b6  
b7C

Enclosed herewith for San Francisco is a copy of Director's letter to Honorable STROM THURMOND, United States Senate, 8/20/70, copy of Senator THURMOND's letter to the Director dated 8/18/70 and an undated letter from [redacted] addressed, "To Whom it May Concern".

Referenced Director's letter to Senator STROM THURMOND instructed [redacted] be immediately identified and interviewed and the facts presented appropriate U. S. Attorney.

According to referenced letter from [redacted] addressed, "To Whom it May Concern", [redacted] resides in Berkeley, California.

Based on limited data available, no information identifiable with [redacted] could be located Los Angeles indices.

*62-52026-*

San Francisco is requested to handle interview.

- 2 - Bureau
- 2 - San Francisco (Encls. 3)
- 1 - Los Angeles

ces/mlh  
(5)

*94-63639*

NOT RECORDED

78 SEP 2 1970

AUG 31 1970

*EIGHT (Hawes)*

ORIGINAL FILED IN 9-0-17817

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-52026-178

b6  
b7C

*2*  
*31*  
**54 SEP 9 1970**

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. Bishop *[initials]*

FROM : M. A. Jones *[initials]*

SUBJECT : SENATOR STROM THURMOND  
(R - S.C.)

DATE 10-23-70

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop *[initials]*  
Belmont *[initials]*  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale *[initials]*  
Rosen *[initials]*  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*[redacted]* Senator Thurmond, on 10-22-70 advised Inspector Bowers that Senator Thurmond has accepted invitations to speak at several colleges in California during the next few months. He said various members of the Senator's family have urged him not to go to California to fill these engagements but the Senator is most reluctant to cancel them. He explained Senator Thurmond has set up a scholarship fund which derives its primary support from the fees paid for his speaking appearances and the Senator does not want to see this fund destroyed as a result of potential threats to him from radical groups.

*[redacted]* stated the Senator had instructed him to contact the FBI concerning the possibility of some type of security being worked out for him during these speaking commitments. It was pointed out *[redacted]* that the FBI has no authority whatever to provide protection. It was suggested that he consider contacting the California State Police as well as the local police departments and the campus security forces in the areas where the Senator is scheduled to speak. *[redacted]* indicated that he had assumed the FBI would not be able to offer assistance and indicated he probably would attempt to work out something, perhaps through the office of Governor Ronald Reagan.

## RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - M. A. Jones
- 1 - Mr. Bowers

DWB:kjs (8)

EX-111

11 NOV 2 1970

OCT 26 1970

CRIME RESEARCH

November 23, 1970

Honorable Strom Thurmond  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C. 20510

My dear Senator:

I want to express my sincere appreciation  
for your remarks in the Congressional Record of Novem-  
ber 20th concerning my comments regarding former  
Attorney General Ramsey Clark. It was thoughtful of you  
to call this to the attention of your colleagues and your  
support means a great deal to me.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

REC-56

10 DEC 15 1970

1 - Columbia

NOTE: Senator Thurmond (R- South Carolina) is on the Special  
Correspondents List.

REK:mmm (5)

MAILED 24  
5 DEC 22 1970  
FBI

✓  
WAL  
Gamm  
TEB  
REK  
OK



S18578

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD -- SENATE

1970

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b7c

What Rocky Mountain College is doing is of a constructive nature is very worthwhile and not only upholds but increases the integrity of the institution.

I applaud Dr. Small, the faculty, and the student body for their realization of what "transcendent values" mean to them. The "Wednesday Evening" conversations are an excellent example of the degree of interrelationship and cooperation which are so much needed today among faculty, students, and trustees.

I ask unanimous consent that a letter from Dr. Small addressed to President Nixon be printed in the RECORD. I urge Senators to read it carefully; it will be worth their while.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OCTOBER 24, 1970

The Honorable RICHARD M. NIXON,  
President of the United States,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I was pleased to see a copy of the letter you received, dated May 11, 1970, from President Miller Upton of Beloit College and to know that it is having wide circulation. He speaks a timely word and I trust that it will be received in the spirit in which it was offered by his colleagues and mine around the nation. Surely, there is much of a constructive nature that can be done on our campuses to uphold the integrity of our institutions and to seek to realize those "transcendent values" of which President Upton speaks.

One such effort, I believe, has taken place at Rocky Mountain College and will be renewed this next week. I would like to share it with you. In the spring of 1969, while more and more campuses were experiencing disruption and violence, "Wednesday Evening" conversations were initiated here involving students, faculty, and administration and looking for some way to explore community response to community concerns. The Board of Trustees of this independent college agreed to set aside one day of its two-day annual meeting in October as "Time-Out Day." On that occasion, and thanks to thorough planning, members of the governing board had the opportunity to visit in small groups with faculty, students, and administration and discuss problems and plans. Over 50 per cent of the student body attended and nearly all of the faculty and staff.

Much was gained in understanding that the college is first of all people gathered in various relationships to live within and support a community for learning. Some changes resulted in our program, but basically there was a breakthrough in communication and acceptance. On Monday, October 26th, by the encouragement of our governing board, we shall again observe "Time-Out Day." Trustees, students, faculty and staff will discuss, argue, plan, eat, relate to one another.

I know that this sort of response is more feasible on our kind of campus than at the multiversities of our land. But I would hope that even at the large institutions the realization might deepen that a college or university is at heart people living and working and relating within their various roles, respecting one another, constituting the most valuable resource their institution possesses and the means of giving substance to its dreams.

Respectfully yours,

LAWRENCE F. SMALL,  
President.

EXCHANGE OF REMARKS BETWEEN  
J. EDGAR HOOVER AND RAMSEY CLARK

Mr. THURMOND: Mr. President, the Washington Post this week has published an exchange of remarks between FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover and former Attorney General Ramsey Clark. Mr. Clark, who has just written a book that he wants publicized, has gratuitously attacked one of America's most faithful public servants in an effort to undercut impartial law enforcement in the United States. Mr. Hoover needs no defense and, indeed, has capably turned Mr. Clark's remarks back upon the aggressor.

However, I should like to express my hearty agreement with the FBI Director's characterization of Mr. Clark as the worst Attorney General he ever encountered. Mr. Hoover was in a position to know the facts about the work of the Justice Department, and to compare that situation with the leadership of the Attorney General. I also had some contact with Mr. Clark in my role on the Judiciary Committee. From these encounters, I had long since formed the conclusion that he was one of the worst Attorney Generals of my experience. I believe that Mr. Hoover was merely articulating the opinions of many knowledgeable officials in Washington.

Mr. Clark's failure to take adequate measures against criminals and subversives resulted in a record crime wave. We have been saved from a collapse of law and order only because a highly capable Attorney General has taken over the reins.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the interview with J. Edgar Hoover, from the Washington Post, November 17, 1970, be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent that Mr. Clark's response, as reported in the Washington Post, November 18, 1970, be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER: Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibits 1 and 2.)

Mr. THURMOND: Mr. President, I want to be absolutely fair to both sides in this exchange, since the Clark response is most interesting. In fact, it confirms Mr. Hoover's opinion.

Mr. President, readers of this article will note that Mr. Clark is speaking at a New York press conference for a new group called the Committee for Public Justice. This committee deserves close attention, as a result of Mr. Clark's remarks.

Among other things, Mr. Clark charges Mr. Hoover with being ideological. He says:

If an investigator has to be anything, he has to be a disinterested observer, a hard, hard pursuer of facts. He cannot be ideological. For reasons that are unfortunate in my judgment, the FBI became ideological some time back. This has put scales over its eyes.

Mr. Clark continues this line of reasoning when he says that the pursuit of the Communist Party USA "is an illustration of the terribly wasteful use of resources," growing out of the FBI Director's belief in "the ideology of a different time."

If we read to the end of the article, we find out that the group for which Mr. Clark is the chief spokesman was organized by Playwright Lillian Hellman. If there is anyone in this country who might be said to represent the ideology of a different time, that one person would have to be Lillian Hellman. She is certainly listed among the champion supporters of Communist front organizations during the 1930's and 1940's. She slavishly perverted her literary talent to support every nuance of the Communist line of the period. In fact, there is sworn testimony before a congressional committee which indicates that she was known as a member of the Communist Party during this period. She refused to testify with regard to these sworn statements, claiming privilege under the fifth amendment, and asserting that she did not want to involve her friends of that period.

Mr. President, I have with me a memorandum which lists nearly 100 Communist and leftist front organizations with which Miss Hellman has publicly been associated, as cited in official documents of the U.S. Congress, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks. This list by no means exhausts Miss Hellman's connections.

The PRESIDING OFFICER: Without objection, it is so ordered.  
(See exhibit 3.)

Mr. THURMOND: Mr. President, in the light of Miss Hellman's overwhelming history of supporting Communist-front organizations, one has the right to ask whether her so-called Committee for Public Justice is not another Communist front. I find it incredible that a former Attorney General of the United States would lend his prestige to an organization organized by a woman who has publicly supported scores of groups listed on the Attorney General's official list of subversive organizations. Such a man is either naive or blind to the dangers threatening this country, and neither conclusion reflects well upon him. His present venture should thoroughly discredit him in the eyes of the American public.

Certainly it is not ideological to oppose those elements who seek to overthrow the U.S. Government by force, and who are backed by international resources to aid them in attaining their goal. On the other hand, it is ideological to promote a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist doctrine. Communist tactics may have changed since the thirties and forties, but the goal remains the same. It is Ramsey Clark who is indulging in the ideology of a different time, but at the same time we must recognize that the ideology of a different time has been brought up to date. Hellman-style committees of the

Let Hellman and 16: (see 7/1/70)  
F.E.C./mum  
62-52026-97X  
J/R

agents are being formed in the 1970's, only now I've got as spokesman a man who once had the responsibility to protect the United States against internal subversion. It is no wonder that our internal security laws, as well as law and order in all fields, were seriously eroded during his tenure as Attorney General. It is plain that Ramsey Clark lacks a basic understanding of law and justice. He cowards himself out of his own mouth.

## EXHIBIT 1

[From the Washington Post Nov 17 1970]  
FBI: Hoover Scorns Ramsey Clark RFK—  
PRAISES MITCHELL AS "VERY HUMAN"

(By Ken W. Clawson)

J. Edgar Hoover yesterday called former Attorney General Ramsey Clark a "jeanish" and the worst Attorney General he has encountered in 45 years as director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Hoover said in an interview that Clark was "a jeanish" a softer, unlike his father, former Attorney General and Supreme Court Justice Tom Clark, whom Hoover described as a "good strong man."

The FBI director said he would accept the judgment of the elder Clark on his stewardship of the FBI, but that Ramsey Clark was even a worse Attorney General than the late Robert F. Kennedy. Hoover said Kennedy was the first Attorney General with whom he had troublesome relations. In the last six months of Kennedy's tenure, Hoover said, he did not speak to Kennedy.

If ever there was a worse Attorney General it was Ramsey Clark, he said. "You never knew which way he was going to flop on an issue."

He was worse than Bobby (Kennedy). At least Kennedy stuck by his guns, even when he was wrong.

Hoover added, however, that until Bobby Kennedy came along he had never had trouble with Attorney General.

He called Attorney General John N. Mitchell an "honest sincere and very human man" and added, "There has never been an Attorney General for whom I've had higher regard."

The director's criticism of Clark was prompted by the Attorney General's book, "Crime in America," being published this week. In it Clark charges that Hoover's "self-centered concern for his own reputation" led the FBI into glory-seeking rather than effective crime control.

Clark charged that the FBI was tardy in moving against organized crime and that a conflict resulted between Hoover and Kennedy, who Clark said was the first Attorney General to have a "commitment to control organized crime."

Clark could not be reached for comment on Hoover's remarks.

In the interview, Hoover said there was never any trouble with Kennedy on the organized crime issue. He pointed out that the FBI did not have the federal laws to fight organized crime that have been passed in recent years.

But there was trouble, Hoover said. "The trouble was that Kennedy wanted to loosen up our standards and qualifications, to discard the requirement that agents hold degrees in law or accounting. He even wanted to discard the bachelor's degree as a requirement."

"In short, he wanted more Negro agents."

Hoover said he refused, and that Kennedy brought up the subject "half a dozen times."

"I told him 'Now Bobby, I have no prejudices. The FBI has Negro agents, Indian agents, Chinese agents and all kinds of other agents. Any one who can meet the qualifications can have a job, and I'll have it no other way.'"

Hoover said he told Kennedy that if he didn't like his position, "Why don't you get another director? You may not know it, but I can retire at full salary. Now, I give half of my salary in taxes so it's costing me money out of pocket to continue."

The director said that "right afterwards" he went to the White House and told President Johnson about the confrontation.

## "STAND BY YOUR GUNS"

The President said, "Stand by your guns. I didn't speak to Bobby Kennedy the last six months he was in office." That was in 1964.

The FBI has a total strength of 18,000, and will get an additional 1,000 agents under provisions of the 1970 Omnibus Crime Control Act. It has been widely believed that these additional agents will be used on college campuses where the Bureau now has jurisdiction over bombings and arson to most buildings.

Hoover called this concept "absolutely untrue." He said the extra agents would be scattered through the Bureau for a variety of duties created by expanding federal jurisdiction in bombings of federally financed buildings as well as making certain types of gambling a federal offense inside a state's borders.

He said he recently wrote former Justice Abe Fortas a letter following a speech in which Fortas criticized using undercover FBI agents on campuses. Hoover said there are no undercover FBI agents on campuses, and that agents will only go on campus to investigate actual bombings.

Threats of bombings or arson, he said, would be turned over to campus police and local police to investigate.

Hoover blamed college administrators and faculty as much as a small group of students for the wave of campus disruptions.

"Some faculty are worse than the hippies," he said. "Ninety per cent of the students want an education and they are prevented by hippies who are encouraged by some of the faculty."

Campus disruptions would stop, he said, "if college presidents had the courage and guts to expel and make it stick." He praised S. I. Hayakawa for his handling of disruptions at San Francisco State College.

Most college administrators, Hoover said, are soft. "They come up through the academic process, and there is nothing worse than an intolerant intellectual. They're soft, and they never want to accept responsibility."

## NO CONCLUSIONS ON KENT

He added that the "people shouting the most are a minority that do not believe in tolerance."

It is true, he said, that students often haven't been able to make their views known to college administrations, trustees and other governing bodies. He said these lines of communications should be opened, and that students should work vigorously to make their views known, but without disruption and intolerance.

The director said he was disappointed to read in various publications that the FBI concluded various things about last spring's shootings at Kent State University in Ohio. "The FBI never makes recommendations or draws conclusions," he said. "We are a fact-finding agency."

It was the Justice Department, he said, that concluded that National Guardsmen fired into students in panic during a confrontation. But Hoover said he was glad the Defense Department will intensify National Guard training.

Professionalism under fire is insisted upon by the director. FBI agents are instructed, he said, not to be promiscuous with firearms, but to shoot to kill when they are threatened by an assailant with the means to kill. "A man never knows about himself until he is tested by battle," he said.

Hoover recalled that during the 1930s he "always hated to sit behind a mahogany desk" when his men were in action in the field.

He said that on one raid, he noticed an agent who answered the command to advance by going in the opposite direction, parrying. "He was not yellow," Hoover said. "He was just not made of the stuff for an FBI agent. Of course, I got rid of him immediately."

Hoover, who will be 76 in January, was relaxed and hearty during a rare interview in his office that lasted about two hours. In referring to his age, he said that he no longer bothers to deny that he may retire. But he pointed out that like all agents he has undergone an annual physical examination since 1938.

"I was in better shape at my August 1970, examination than I was in 1938," he said.

But he admitted that he has a tendency to put on weight and is constantly on a diet. At his favorite luncheon spot in the Mayflower Hotel, the director has been reduced to a grapefruit salad with cottage cheese and black coffee.

## ARREST RATIO HIGH

But Hoover seems to thrive on this kind of discipline. He repeated several times that law enforcement officials must adhere to strict standards, personally and professionally, to carry out their assignments.

And while he considers all law officials members of a close fraternity and is concerned with the increasing danger to their safety, he is opposed to a proposed bill making the killing of a policeman a federal offense.

Such a move would give the FBI jurisdiction in these cases.

He said the bill comes too close to making the FBI a national police force, something he said he has opposed since 1924 when he became the director.

In addition, FBI records show that in 96 per cent of police murders, arrests have followed within 30 days, usually by the police force to which the victim belonged.

"It's a matter of pride, too," Hoover said. "The FBI goes all out when an agent is killed, so do local or state police."

He said more policemen have been killed in the last two years than at any other time, with many deaths attributed to senseless, sniper slayings.

General crime, he said, has never been greater than now. "It has reached an apex." Hoover then listed three areas of combating crime and made these observations:

Law enforcement—Better training and higher salaries have increased the professionalism of police on all levels and they are doing a better job than most people recognize.

Courts—On the federal level alone, 1,200 cases, some of them as old as two years, are still awaiting adjudication. Courts are uneven in their justice, often giving inadequate sentences and probation when they shouldn't. In the District of Columbia, a bank robber was released on his own recognizance and committed another bank robbery.

Sometimes, Hoover said, the criminal justice system just makes a mistake.

He said a classic example of this came during the early 1960s in a District Court trial when Teamsters leader James R. Hoffa was charged with trying to bribe a staff member of Sen. John McClellan (D-Ark.), who was then investigating labor racketeering.

Hoover said that at the trial Hoffa was identified as the man who gave the staff member money. It occurred in a taxi driven by an undercover FBI agent.

"In the middle of the trial," Hoover said, "Joe Louis, the former heavyweight champion, came into the courtroom and embraced Hoffa. The jury found him innocent."

Hoover said that McClellan's investigation and subsequent FBI work that eventually

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put Hoffa in the Federal prison at Lewisburg Pa. led to the suspicion that there was great corruption in the American trade union movement.

Hoover called Hoffa's later conviction and imprisonment "good riddance to bad rubbish" but he said it was not representative of union groups.

George Meany, for example, is one of the finest men I know. There are no Communists in the AFL-CIO and he doesn't tolerate corruption.

He's a fine man and the AFL-CIO is a fine organization.

Prisons—They are the last place of concern for those who finance the criminal justice system. Rehabilitation services are negligible and should be greatly improved.

Hoover said he seemed always to be involved in controversy with "bleeding hearts" who accuse him of being opposed to parole and probation.

He said he has only been opposed to abuses of parole and probation. People just don't understand he said that on the state level, a life sentence means 21 years, with the prisoner eligible for parole in seven years. On the Federal level he said life is 45 years, with eligibility for parole in 15 years.

"I still believe that punishment is a deterrent. Where a serious crime has been committed, a substantial sentence should be imposed."

He said his contacts with prison inmates led him to believe the death penalty is also a deterrent and should be imposed in a few serious cases such as premeditated murder and kidnapping where the victim is harmed.

In Hoover's time major crimes have shifted in style and type from the kidnappings of the 1930s through bank robberies, organized crime and radical political crimes.

Hoover said that despite the widespread belief that the FBI constantly wiretaps, there are now only about 40 wiretaps authorized by the Attorney General for national security cases. All other wiretaps are court-authorized and being used effectively, especially in gambling cases.

#### ASKED WIRETAP CURB

Hoover recalled that during the 1940s he was the only intelligence official in Washington who didn't have the authority to wiretap. He said he urged Tom Clark, who was then Attorney General, to ask President Truman to curtail wiretapping except upon approval of the Attorney General.

During this period Hoover said the late columnist Drew Pearson accused him of tapping his telephone. Hoover who said he did not personally like Pearson, denied the allegation but checked on it after Pearson left his office.

"I found that another agency indeed had tapped his telephone," Hoover said.

He added that it was a standing rule in the FBI not to tap the telephone of any newsman, senator or congressman.

Hoover has often been at odds with the Supreme Court, although he now sees some improvement with the addition of President Nixon's two court appointees.

He described Chief Justice Warren Burger as an "excellent chief justice" and said the appointment represented a "wise decision by the President."

Hoover said he didn't know Justice Harry Blackmun but that he considered him a "very able judge."

After nearly a half-century of dealing with criminals, Hoover said that John Dillinger, Alvin Karpis and other notorious gangsters were really less dangerous than the current crop of new less experienced criminals.

Hoover said that in early May, 1936, he was testifying before a congressional committee when agents located Karpis in New Orleans.

The director ordered a stakeout and flew to New Orleans to personally arrest Karpis.

Karpis was getting into a car with an accomplice when Hoover stuck a pistol in his ribs. The gangster turned and mildly said, "Well you got me."

He had recognized Hoover from a newspaper photograph taken the year before when the director caught a sailfish off the Florida coast.

Hoover said he got into the back seat of a police car with Karpis while an agent from Oklahoma drove and Karpis' mistress sat in the front. They were taking the prisoners to FBI headquarters in New Orleans for questioning when Hoover noticed they seemed to be traveling in circles.

"I discovered," said Hoover, "that neither I nor the agent—who was there just for the Karpis raid—knew where our office was. At that point, Karpis spoke up and asked us if it were in the old Post Office or the new one."

Hoover said he first told Karpis to keep quiet as he fitted a prisoner, but then identified the old Post Office as the site.

Karpis then guided us to our office. He said he had been planning to rob the old Post Office and knew its location."

Later, Hoover was escorting Karpis to Minneapolis to stand trial for kidnapping. When the plane landed in Kansas City to refuel, Hoover purchased a newspaper whose headline read "Karpis robs Detroit bank."

Amused, Hoover got on the plane and showed the paper to Karpis, who smiled and said "This time I have a good alibi."

"He had a sense of humor, a good sense of humor," Hoover said.

#### EXHIBIT 2

[From the Washington Post, Nov. 18, 1970]

#### CLARK SCORES FBI OVER "IDEOLOGY," LACK OF DIVERSITY

(By Karl E. Meyer)

NEW YORK—Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, whom J. Edgar Hoover described as a "jellyfish" and a "softie," responded today with some criticism of his own about the FBI director.

Under Hoover, Clark said, the FBI has become "ideological" and has lacked internal diversity. Moreover, he told newsmen Hoover erred in calling the Black Panthers the most dangerous group in America.

"That is patently absurd," Clark asserted. "I said it at the time and I'm still convinced of it. The FBI outnumbers the Black Panthers seven to one, and if they can't handle it, they should have stayed in bed."

Clark's remarks came during and after a press conference called here to announce the creation of a Committee for Public Justice to counter what it deems repressive tendencies in America.

Clark was asked to comment on Hoover's description of him as a "jellyfish" in an interview published in Tuesday's Washington Post. "He's entitled to his opinion," Clark replied. "He never said it while I was there."

In the interview, Hoover said that Clark, who was President Johnson's chief law enforcement official, was the worst attorney general that the FBI chief had worked under in 45 years. Hoover's criticism was prompted by a book just published by Clark, "Crime in America," which asserts that the FBI director's "self-centered concern for his own reputation" had hampered the bureau's crime-fighting.

Queried in Washington on Clark's comments, an FBI spokesman said, "Mr. Hoover has no comment to make as he does not desire to in any way advance the sale of his (Clark's) book."

Clark broadened his attack today, saying that while Hoover had made "some valuable contributions" by showing that a big agency can be effective, these were offset by "two grave shortcomings."

"If an investigator has to be anything, he has to be a disinterested observer, a hard hard pursuer of facts," Clark continued. "He cannot be ideological. For reasons that are unfortunate, in my judgment, the FBI became ideological some time back. This has put scales over its eyes."

The other failure, he maintained, was the lack of diversity within the Bureau. Clark said there was an "intolerance of different viewpoints," and that the last man who dared question Hoover "has been gone for some time."

Clark said that the pursuit of the Communist Party of the USA "is an illustration of the terribly wasteful use of resources" growing out of the FBI director's belief in "the ideology of a different time."

Clark wondered "why it's so difficult for him (Hoover) to begin civil rights investigations" and said there was a question how good the FBI was in investigating "unlawful police conduct."

Clark is a member of the executive council of the new committee, which plans to investigate and publicize what it regards as political repression. Other council members include former assistant U.S. Attorney General Roger Wilkins and Bourke Marshall, and onetime Nuremberg war crimes prosecutor Telford Taylor.

Playwright Lillian Hellman, the principal organizer of the group, also spoke at today's news conference. She said she felt impelled to do something last spring because "some of us thought we heard the voice of Joe McCarthy coming from the grave."

#### EXHIBIT 3

LILLIAN HELLMAN

Playwright ("The Children's Hour," "Watch on the Rhine," "The Little Foxes," "Another Part of the Forest," adaptation of "Montserrat," "Autumn Garden") Born in New Orleans, resides at Hardscrabble Farm, near Briarcliff, Westchester County, N.Y. Married to Arthur Kober, writer. Has been one of the most important figures in the Communist-front movement in the American theatre and literary world. Good friend of such as Dashiell Hammett, E. Y. Harburg, Herman Shumlin (producer of "The Little Foxes"), etc.

#### Reported as

Allied Voters Against Coudert Sponsor, "Stars for Democracy" Rally, Carnegie Hall, N.Y.C., 10/21/42 App. 9, p. 316

American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom Signer, Petition to Discontinue the Dies Committee App. 9, p. 331

American Committee to Save Refugees, Exiled Writers Committee of the League of American Writers, United American Spanish Aid Committee Chairman, "Europe Today" Dinner Forum, Hotel Biltmore, N.Y.C., 10/9/41 App. 9, p. 357

American Labor Party Affiliated HUAC Review, etc., p. 22

American League for Peace and Democracy Sponsor, Refugee Scholarship and Peace Campaign, 8/3/39 App. 9, p. 410

American League Against War and Fascism Member, Advisory Board, United Citizens' Committee, 1936 HUAC, Testimony of Walter S. Steele, p. 29

American Council on Soviet Relations Affiliated HUAC, Review, etc., p. 52

American Round Table on India Member App. 9, p. 1772

Amicus Curiae Brief for Lawson & Trumbo Signer Petition to U.S. Supreme Court to review the conviction of Joan Howard Lawson and Dalton Trumbo Alert 9/12/49

Artists' Front to Win the War Speaker, Meeting, Carnegie Hall, N.Y.C., 10/16/42 App. 9, p. 575

Artists League of America Sponsor, Dance, Penthouse, 13 Astor Place, N.Y.C., 3/25/44 App. 9, p. 1101.

California Labor School Affiliated HUAC, *Review* etc p 21

Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges Member or Sponsor 1941 App 9 p 599

Citizens United to Abolish the Wood-Rankin Committee Supporter, *NY Times*, ad 3/14/46 p 18

Communist International USSR

Sponsor Dinner Celebrating 25th Anniversary of the Red Army auspices Soviet Russia Today HUAC *Review* etc p 47

Supported by Soviet agencies, press or radio HUAC *Review* etc p 49

Signer of declaration honoring Georgi Dimitrov (overtime Communist head) Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee ad, *NY Times*, 12/22/43, p 40 App 9, p 1531

Other Support of Georgi Dimitrov HUAC, *Review*, etc p 12

Her plays, "Watch on the Rhine" and "Little Foxes" performed in Moscow theatres Soviet Russia Today, October 1945, p 32

Sent greetings to Moscow Art Theatre on its 50th Anniversary *Daily Worker*, 11/1/48, p 13

Miscellaneous support given to Soviet Union HUAC *Review* etc p 49

Communist Party USA

Supporter of individual Communist(s) HUAC *Review* etc p 40 45.

Supported by Communist Party HUAC, *Review* etc p 39

Signer, Statement by American Progressives on the Moscow Trials, *Daily Worker*, 4/28/38, p 4 *New Masses*, 5/3/38, p 19, App 9, p 1617

Signer "Statement in Defense of the Bill of Rights" (in support of the Communist Party), 12/14/39 App 9, p 1126

Congress of American Women Supporter HUAC, *Report on the Congress of American Women* p 105

Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo A Representative Individual" App 9, p 668

Equality Member, Editorial Council, 1939, also contributor App 9, pp 695, 696, 698, 1449

Films for Democracy Member, Advisory Board App 9, p 723

Film Audiences for Democracy Member, Advisory Board App 9, p 730

Frontier Films Member, Advisory Board, *Daily Worker*, 4/6/37, p 9 App 9, p 732

Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Sponsor App 9, pp 756, 1120

Sponsor Campaign to Aid Spain Veterans *Daily Worker*, 6/11/38 p 4, App 9, p 753

Sponsor, Rehabilitation Fund App 9, p 753

Sponsor, Disabled Veterans Fund *Daily Worker*, 3/22/39 p 5, App 9, p 754

German American Emergency Conference, Inc Sponsor App 9 p 1121

Harlem Women for Wallace Speaker, 6/3/48 *Daily Worker* 6/10/48, p 6

History Today Inc Member, Board of Directors App 9 p 725

Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts Sciences and Professions

Member, Board of Directors Letterhead, 4/30/46

Contributing editor, *The Independent*, June 1945

Speaker *The Independent*, 6/3/45, p 13

Speaker Theatre Panel Conference of the Arts Sciences and Professions, 6/22-23/45, *Daily Worker* 6/10/45 p 14.

International Committee on African Affairs Speaker Marx meeting *Daily Worker*, 4/10/42 p 1 3 App 9, p 671

Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee Sponsor, Dinner, 10/27/43, Hotel Astor, NYC App 9 p 941

Sponsor, "Tribute to Guerrilla Fighters" Dinner App 9, p 944.

Principal speaker (she had just returned from 4 months travel in the U.S.S.R., where she had been the guest of VOKS, the Soviet Cultural Dept.), Dinner opening drive for

\$750,000 (she contributed \$1,000), NYC 3/22/45 US Senate, *Hearings on S 1832*, Part 2 p 532

League of American Writers

Signer Call to the 4th Congress of LAW, NYC 6/6-8/41 App 9 p 974

Signer, Cable in support of Loyalist Spain, 3/19/38 *New Masses*, 3/29/38, p 21, App 9, p 981

League of Women Shoppers, Inc

A Vice-president Letterhead, 7/7/41, App 9, pp 1007-1010

Sponsor also of New York, Hollywood and Los Angeles Branches of LWS Inc Letterhead 7/3/41, *Un-Am Act in Cal*, 1948, pp 277 278

Medical Aid to Russia Affiliated HUAC, *Review* etc p 52

Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy Affiliated HUAC *Review* etc, p 30

National Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism Sponsor, App 9, p 1172

National Committee for People's Rights Member Leaflet, "This Organization Is Dedicated", App 9 p 1179

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship

Sponsor 10th Anniversary of American-Soviet Relations Congress, Madison Square Garden, 11/8/43 *Daily Worker*, 9/29/43, p 5, 10/25/43 p 3 App 9, pp 481 1202

Sponsor Congress App 9, p 1203

Speaker, American-Soviet Cultural Conference Engineering Societies Bldg, NYC, 11/18/45 HUAC, *Testimony of Walter S. Steele*, p 99

Speaker, Women's Committee Meeting, Soviet Consulate, NYC, 3/7/46 HUAC *Report on Congress of American Women*, p 90

Participant, Tea on International Women's Day, given by NCASF in honor of Soviet women, Soviet Consulate, NYC, 3/8/46, *Daily Worker*

Sponsor Soviet Russia Today, March 1947, p 2, letterhead 5/9/49

Signer, Greetings to Women of the Soviet Union in Celebration of International Women's Day, auspices Women's Committee of NCASF *Daily Worker*, 3/9/48, p 5

Supporter of NIKHAIL KALATOZV, Soviet film representative HUAC, *Review*, etc, p 44

National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions

Vice-chairman Letterhead 6/7/48

Nominee for Office Theatre Division Rally, Hotel Woodstock, NYC, 9/20/48 Handbill

Singer ad, "We Are For Wallace," *NY Times*, 10/20/48

Signer Statement calling for abolition of House Committee on Un-American Activities *Daily Worker*, 12/29/48 p 2

Attended and donated \$250 Meeting to Abolish House Committee on Un-American Activities, Hotel Commodore, NYC, 1/9/48 Special report

Signer Invitation to Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace NYC, 3/25-27/49 *Daily Worker*, 1/10/49 p 11

Sponsor, Member of Program Committee, Member of Resolutions Committee Helped present the resolutions Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace Program, Official Invitation, *Daily Worker*, 2/28/49, p 9, US Senate, *Hearings on S 1832*, Part 2, pp 548, 551

On this also a speaker Welcoming Dinner for Scientific etc Conference, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel 3/25/49 US Senate, *Hearings on S 1832*, Part 2, p 544

National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights Signer "Open Letter to the US Senate" App 9, p 1212

National Institute of Arts and Letters Signer, Letter denouncing the Thomas Committee of Congress *Daily People's World*, 2/27/48 *Un-Am Act in Cal*, 1948, p 330

National Wallace for President Committee, Member, *Daily Worker*, 3/28/48, p 7.

*New Masses* Affiliated HUAC, *Review*, etc, p 56

"New Party" (Independent Progressive Party) Member, Platform Committee, 7/23/48 *Daily Worker*, 7/19/48, p 5

North American Spanish Aid Committee Sponsor, "Campaign to Aid International Volunteers" App 9, p 1610

Progressive Citizens of America

A Vice-chairman *Un-Am Act in Cal*, 1948, p 354

Speaker "Stop Anti-Labor Legislation" Meeting(s), NYC, 1947 HUAC, *Testimony of Walter S. Steele*, p 149.

Participant, "Conference on Cultural Freedom and Civil Liberties" Hotel Commodore NYC, 10/25-26/47, auspices National Arts, Sciences and Professions Council of PCA Official Call, *Daily Worker*, 10/27/47, p 2

Progressive Committee to Rebuild the American Labor Party Memoer, Executive Committee App 9, p 1500.

Progressive Party

Attended three-day conference *Daily Worker*, 11/16/48, p 5.

Sponsor Fund-raising Dinner in honor of Henry A. Wallace, Hotel Astor, NYC, 9/12/49. Official invitation

Russian War Relief, Inc Signer of appeal, *NY Times*, ad 10/10/41, App 9, p 475

Soviet Russia Today Signer, "Open Letter to American Liberals" *Soviet Russia Today*, March 1937, pp 14-15, App 9, p 1379

Theatre Arts Committee Member, Executive Board Letterhead, 1/28/40, App 9, pp 1539, 1626

United Office and Professional Workers of Committee, 5th Annual Stenographers' Ball, Manhattan Center, NYC, 2/10/40 (to raise organizational and strike fund) Letterhead, 1/1/40

Voice of Freedom Committee Affiliated HUAC *Review*, etc p 35

Writers for Wallace Member Initiating Committee *Daily Worker*, 9/21/48, p 7.

Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade

Signer, Letter to Pres Roosevelt and Atty. Gen Jackson, protesting the attacks upon the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and "condemning the war hysteria now being whipped up by the Roosevelt administration" *Daily Worker*, 2/21/40, App 9, p 1648

Endorser, Conference, Hotel Capitol, NYC, 4/13/40 *Daily Worker*, 3/25/40, App 9, p 1649

Miss Hellman accepted an invitation to be an American delegate (with Rosamond Gilder) to an International Congress of the International Theater Institute, Paris 7/28/47 HUAC, *Testimony of Walter S. Steele*, p 118

Lillian Hellman has not separated her activity in organizations cited as Communist or Communist fronts, from her playwrighting App 9, p 1539, notes that Miss Heller is "the writer of a number of plays like *Little Foxes* which guardedly carry the Communist message" Herman Shumlin produced "*Little Foxes*"

Kermit Bloomgarden produced, Harold Clurman directed, Howard Bay designed the sets and lighted, and Fredric March Florence Elridge and others acted in Lillian Hellman's latest play, "*The Autumn Garden*"

"The Autumn Garden" on the whole was not acceptable to *The Daily Worker* (but Arthur Pollock in *The Daily Compass* recently has said nice things about her and about the play, see *Daily Compass*, 2/26/51, p 12, and 5/1/51, p 20).

Recently, persistent rumors have circulated in the theatre and in NY ad agencies that Miss Hellman had either given up the cause" altogether, or had become a "deviationist"

In view of Lillian Hellman's solid position over many years, as revealed in her record, any alleged change on her part would seem to require a great deal of proving—by very considerable action, not words.

Communist Party USA Member testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee Los Angeles 9/19/51, Martin Bernal swore that he was active in the Communist Party between 1937 and 1943 and that he had known Lillian Hellman in the Party

#### ARTICLE ON TAX REFORM BY NORTH CAROLINIAN

Mr ERVIN M President, in the February 1970, issue of the Journal of Accountancy, a North Carolinian, Mr William H Westphal, has written a broad-ranging article on tax reform Mr Westphal who is a past president of the North Carolina Association of Certified Public Accountants is not satisfied at past efforts at tax reform Mr Westphal characterizes past efforts at tax reform as attempts "to pour new wine into old wineskins" He states further

True tax reform can come about only after an intensive unbiased examination of the philosophy of present procedures

In his article Mr Westphal examines the present tax philosophy and the nature of the tax law and how it can be improved Also, he considers tax reform from an administrative standpoint by examining the Internal Revenue Service, and he takes a look at the tax decisions of the Federal courts in this regard

Mr President, for a very enlightened discussion of tax reform policies, I wholeheartedly recommend the article entitled "What Is Tax Reform?" which was published in the Journal of Accountancy in February 1970

Mr President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr Westphal's article on tax reform be printed in the Record

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows

#### WHAT IS TAX REFORM?

(By William H Westphal)

The public demand for tax reform has never been so urgent This universal concern grows out of the influence of an income tax law which has been all-pervasive It has been used not only to obtain necessary revenue but as a deterrent to inflation, as an instrument of social reform, as a manner of redistributing the wealth, and even as a means of bringing criminals to justice

Yet how is the desired change to be wrought and of what should it consist? Is it to be accomplished by the manipulation of the tax rates, by the allowance or removal of exemptions, by taxing certain institutions that have not been taxed before by plugging some loopholes? It is usually considered on this basis and often after a certain number of corrections and innovations, the evils still persist in another form The conventional thinking appears to be that we already possess a generally satisfactory taxing system so that the only requirement for its functional efficiency is the change of certain sections of the law Because I believe that a conceptual foundation must be laid before technical construction can properly begin, I shall undertake a philosophical approach to the question of reform of the tax system After a number of years devoted to the consideration of the effect of the federal income tax laws upon many taxpayers I am constrained that anticipated tax reform has always been treated on a relatively superficial basis in a continuing endeavor to pour new wine into old wine skins

We might consider just how the effectiveness of any other law would be determined For example if we should seek to ascertain the adequacy or relevance of criminal law, our review would encompass the following facets of the problem

- 1 The nature of the law
- 2 The administrative philosophy of enforcement procedure
- 3 The decisions of the courts of competent jurisdiction

The failure to take all of these components of the problem into account would preclude observations and conclusions that are thoroughly considered

The tax law must be examined in the same fashion, for the treatment of any phase of this matter as sacrosanct or untouchable will result in failure to deal effectively with the problem as a whole Therefore, in examining the question of tax reform these same three vital ingredients must be evaluated, for unless this is done, one may well be treating only the symptoms and not the root causes of our difficulties The true effect of the tax law is measured by the end result the tax paid with the return, the amount imposed by the Internal Revenue Service, or the deficiency finally determined by the courts The uncertainty of the laws meaning the basis for much bitter complaint, is not attributable only to its phrasing, but also to administrative procedure and to judicial determination Related to all of these phases of the law's operation is the need for relief from the grossly unfair tax resulting from an honest error, a technicality or a harsh court decision

#### THE NATURE OF THE TAX LAW—HOW CAN IT BE IMPROVED?

The tax law is an enormously complex set of statutes that have been revised, altered and adjusted until the patchwork has become almost unintelligible It has been codified twice and amended on innumerable occasions It does not represent the gradual evolution of the law through the careful distillation of experience, but a series of amendments superimposed one upon the other, because of an immediate need for revenue, the popular demand for tax relief, the pressure of interested special groups or an effort to prevent some type of tax evasion The consideration of appropriate philosophical concepts, the careful balancing of one section against another, and the evaluating survey of the law as a whole seem always to have been seriously lacking

No task can be performed to the best advantage in such circumstances, and the writing of a tax law is no exception It is a testimonial to the outstanding quality of the Congressional committees that have been engaged in this effort that, in spite of these handicaps to sound draftsmanship, a degree of workability has been attained

A comprehensive revision of the tax law should be based on a nonpartisan study in great depth by a thoroughly knowledgeable commission It should be composed primarily of highly competitive professional men or women who are broadly experienced in the tax, financial and economic fields, possessing no particular axes to grind This type of examination of the Canadian law was undertaken a few years ago and proved quite fruitful

This group might decide first just what method or methods of taxation are most desirable, taking into account the tax experience in this country both state and federal, and in other countries

If it considers that the presently existing form of income taxation should be retained, it should then examine the Internal Revenue Code intensively from every possible standpoint

This review should compare the tax effect of the law upon taxpayers of comparable income class, but with differing financial or

occupational status to ascertain any existing inequality of treatment and the best means of placing them on a parity It should decide whether taxes should be imposed on any additional persons or entities who now appear to be escaping their share of the tax burden

Hasty conclusions should not be reached regarding the changes that need to be made, based on half-truths insufficient information or purely emotional appeal The Congress should not be stampeded into the hurried application of additional taxes to a particular class of taxpayers merely because there may be a hue and cry to do it While privileged positions under the tax law should not be regarded as inviolate, the reasons for which they came into being should be examined, and the probable long-range social and economic implications of their removal should be considered before action is taken Also, the law that is proposed should be feasible and workable—susceptible of practical implementation The economic system is inordinately complex and solutions to its problems of taxation do not come easily Although we can probably never regard the tax law as a seamless garment, we must by all means eventually cast off one that is a crazy quilt of legislation

It is imperative that we should not become so enamored of simplification that we provide a Procrustean bed for taxpayers into which they will be forced, either to be unjustly cut down or financially mutilated in the cause of convenience by arbitrary and simplistic rules It is likewise important that the generations of sound tax scholarship that have gone into the development of the present law should not be wantonly sacrificed for the sake of streamlining the statute

However, the finest available thinking should be devoted to simplification rather than hairsplitting definition, and to the clear establishment of basic principles with which reasonable men can live, rather than to pinpoint delineation

The use of a competent study commission has been found to be profitable by a number of states in effecting changes in their tax laws Not only would it represent a pool of talent and knowledge possessed by persons who are willing and able to give the necessary time to the task, but to a degree its use would serve to insulate members of Congress from continuing political pressure during the study period This statement is made with a full awareness of the constitutional principle that those engaged in devising tax laws must be responsive to the people Nevertheless, while the formulation of tax policy should not take place in a corner, a suitable tax law cannot be written in a public arena before a mass of spectators The suggested approach is a deep intensive study by the commission, and its report, together with tentative drafts of the proposed law, for the lengthy examination of the Congressional committees The report should not be permitted to gather dust in the archives but should be intensively used as a work of reference

Appropriate publicity given to a sound report by such a commission might achieve substantial public acceptance of many of its conclusions This could minimize the impact of efforts exerted by special groups for preferential treatment and strengthen the position of the Congressman or Senator who wishes to incorporate the proposed findings in the law with a minimum of change

#### ADMINISTRATIVE PHILOSOPHY

As a result of long experience I am thoroughly convinced of the honesty integrity and competence of virtually all of the officials of the Internal Revenue Service For an organization so tremendous, for a task so colossal, they have performed admirably Nevertheless, while administration of the criminal law is the subject of continuous public discussion, little is said about the

March 31, 1971

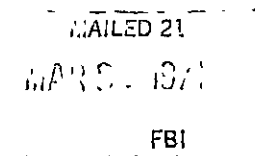
Honorable Strom Thurmond  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C. 20510

My dear Senator:

I would like to extend my heartiest congratulations to your wife and you on the birth of your daughter. This is indeed a happy occasion and I know how proud you both must be. I am sure she will bring much pleasure to your lives and she has my best wishes for a hearty and happy future.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



REC- 29

62-51006-  
✓

APR 5 1971

1 - Columbia

NOTE: Senator Thurmond (R-South Carolina) is on the Special Correspondents List. The Bureau has enjoyed a cordial relationship with him.

AWT:jls (5)

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MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 12-29-2004 BY [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

Let to Shumard / DMK (SCH)  
AUT / g  
3/31/71

JANT

12-574126-98

ENCLOSURE

sel

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JAN 21 1971

TELETYPE

NR019 BS CODED

10:34 PM PM URGENT 1-21-71 WFY

TO DIRECTOR (100-439048)

FROM BOSTON (100-35472)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS) WORKER STUDENT  
ALLIANCE (WSA), PLANNED DEMONSTRATION, TUFTS UNIVERSITY  
MEDFORD, MASSACHUSETTS, JANUARY TWENTYFIVE, NEXT, IN  
PROTEST OF APPEARANCE OF SENATOR STROM THURMOND OF  
SOUTH CAROLINA, STAG; IS- SDS.

A SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN  
THE PAST ADVISED JANUARY TWENTYONE INSTANT PUBLIC RELATIONS  
OFFICE, TUFTS UNIVERSITY, MEDFORD, MASS., LEARNED FROM  
OFFICE OF SOUTH CAROLINA SENATOR STROM THURMOND THAT  
THURMOND HAS CANCELLED PLANS TO APPEAR AS GUEST  
SPEAKER UNDER SPONSORSHIP OF UNIVERSITY LECTURE SERIES AT TUFTS  
UNIVERSITY JANUARY TWENTYFIVE, NEXT. SOURCE UNAWARE OF  
BASIS OF CANCELLATION.

END PAGE ONE

NOT RECORDED

152 JAN 27 1971

JAN 26 1971

"cc to IDIU  
Adm. data deleted"

57 JAN 29 1971

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-439048



BS 100-35472

PAGE TWO

TUFTS SECURITY OFFICE, MEDFORD, MASS. POLICE DEPARTMENT,  
MASSACHUSETTS STATE POLICE, SUBVERSIVE UNIT, AND APPROPRIATE  
INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES COGNIZANT.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

REBTEL, JANUARY TWENTYONE, INSTANT. SOURCE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ALTHOUGH THURMOND HAS

CANCELED SCHEDULED TUFTS APPEARANCE NECESSITY OF BUREAU  
ADVISING THURMONDS WASHINGTON OFFICE OF SDS PLANNED PROTEST  
OF HIS SCHEDULED TUFTS APPEARANCE AS REPORTED IN RETEL BEING  
LEFT TO DISCRETION OF BUREAU. NO LHM RE CONTENTS OF RETEL OR  
INSTANT TELETYPE BEING SUBMITTED.

END

cc [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

b6  
b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. Bishop

DATE : 1-22-71

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT : SENATOR STROM THURMOND  
(R - S.C.)

Bishop  
Bennan C.D.  
Callahan  
Casper  
Conrad  
Felt  
Gale  
Rosen  
Tavel  
Tele. Room  
Holmes  
Gandy

[REDACTED] Senator Strom Thurmond, contacted Inspector Bowers on 1-22-71, and inquired as to whether or not the FBI would like for the Senator to reintroduce Senate bills S. 1987 and S. 1891 on which no action was taken during the 91st Congress. Both these bills were introduced by Senator Thurmond in April, 1969. [REDACTED] stated he assumed these bills had been introduced by the Senator at our request.

S. 1987 was a bill to amend section 837 of title 18, United States Code, to preclude the interstate transportation of incendiary devices the same as explosives. [REDACTED] was advised that this proposal, in effect, was contained in title 11 of the Organized Crime Control Act of 1970 (Public Law 91-452).

S. 1891 would authorize the FBI to exchange fingerprint information with registered national security exchanges and related agencies. We are on record with the Department of Justice as being opposed to this legislation because it would considerably increase our fingerprint identification work and could well lead to other private enterprises renewing their demands for an exchange of fingerprint identification information. The Department of Justice has gone on record with Senator James O. Eastland, Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, as being opposed to this legislation. A check with the Identification Division reveals that our position has not changed. [REDACTED] was advised that we had not requested the introduction of the legislation and that the Department of Justice, with our concurrence, had opposed its enactment.

[REDACTED] expressed his appreciation for this information and stated he certainly will not initiate on his own the reintroduction of this legislation.

## RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Bishop

- 1 - Mr. Callahan
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Walters

- 1 - M. A. Jones
- 1 - Mr. Bowers

53 FEB 19 1971  
DWB:kjs (10)

ORIGINAL FILED IN 32-00-336

STROM THURMOND  
SOUTH CAROLINA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-29-2004 BY [redacted]

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D C 20510

April 2, 1971

Mr Callahan  
Mr Casper  
Mr Conrad  
Mr DeLoach  
Mr Felt  
Mr Gale  
Mr Rosen  
Mr Tavel  
Mr Walters  
Mr Soyars  
Tele Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

You were very thoughtful to take the  
time to send us your congratulations upon  
the birth of our baby, [redacted]

[redacted] I deeply appreciate your  
thinking of the three of us in such a  
nice way.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

in which [redacted] joins me,

STROM THURMOND  
Very truly,

*Strom Thurmond*  
Strom Thurmond

ST:o

(R-SC)

REC-22

THURMOND

62-52926-01

12 APR 13 1971

PEPS REC. UNIT

53 APR 22 1971

NO PREVIOUS RECORDS IN PERSONNEL  
RECORDS, FBI

b6  
b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO Mr. Bishop *EB*

FROM M. A. Jones *MAJ*

SUBJECT SENATOR STROM THURMOND (R-S.C.)

DATE 5-10-71

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop *EB*  
Rosen *EB*  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7c

2 Enclosed is a copy of the weekly newsletter issued by Senator Thurmond dated 5-10-71 which is captioned "J. Edgar Hoover and His Critics." This is a very favorable item concerning the Director and the FBI. The newsletter states the current attack has a twofold purpose--the removal of Mr. Hoover as head of the FBI and to discredit the FBI.

The newsletter reviews briefly the history and some of the accomplishments of the FBI under Mr. Hoover's direction. It refers to the two major criticisms recently made--that the FBI "bugged" telephones of Members of Congress and recklessly spied on legitimate political activities such as the "Earth Day" meeting in Washington. The newsletter states, "Neither charge withstands careful examination," and then points out how the charges lack substance.

The newsletter concludes, "The responsibility of the FBI is to bring to justice those who violate the law, whether the motive of the criminal be personal or political. Under J. Edgar Hoover, the Bureau has discharged this responsibility with reason and within the safeguards of the law."

Our relationship with Senator Thurmond has been cordial.

## RECOMMENDATION:

That the enclosed letter to the Senator be sent.

Enclosures (2)

- sent 5-10-71* *OK* *TEBN*
- 1 - Mr. Mohr - Enclosure
  - 1 - Mr. Bishop - Enclosure
  - 1 - M. A. Jones - Enclosure
  - 1 - Mr. Bowers - Enclosure

DWB:kjs (7)

62-52026-100  
JUN 24 1971  
10 MAY 12 1971

CRIME RESEARCH

JUN 28 1971

MAY 10, 1971

J. EDGAR HOOVER AND HIS CRITICS

Americans are currently witnessing a concentrated attack against one of our most respected and capable officials -- J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The attack, conducted simultaneously by some of the news media and by politically ambitious individuals, has as its purpose the removal of Hoover from his post as head of the nation's foremost and finest bureau of investigation -- the F.B.I. A secondary aim is to discredit the F.B.I. as an institution in order to hamper its investigations into the numerous revolutionary groups that continue to advocate violence and illegal disruption of society.

In 1924 when Hoover took over as Director of the F.B.I., it was a scandal-ridden and ineffective bureaucracy. Since Hoover's tenure began, not one single F.B.I. agent has been charged with a crime. The image of honesty and integrity which Hoover has insisted upon has never been blemished.

In addition to the F.B.I.'s well-deserved reputation for integrity, the bureau under Hoover's guidance has also gained a world-wide reputation for effectiveness. The crime-fighting record of the F.B.I. is unexcelled, whether the law-breakers are part of organized crime, or part of the growing number of revolutionaries who commit such crimes as bombing government buildings. The history of the F.B.I. also shows great success in apprehending foreign agents and saboteurs--both Nazis during the Second World War, and Communists since then.

The record of the F.B.I. as an honest and effective investigative

MAY 10, 1971

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The record of the F.B.I. as an honest and effective investigative agency has created a tremendous feeling of confidence in J. Edgar Hoover and in the F.B.I. by the American people. The F.B.I. has shown judgment and restraint where judgment and restraint were needed. It has shown courage and daring where these qualities are required. It is indeed unfortunate that this outstanding record has resulted in such undeserved attacks upon Hoover and the F.B.I.

In recent weeks, the criticism of Hoover and the F.B.I. has focused on two allegations: First, that the F.B.I. has "bugged" the telephones of Members of Congress; and Second, that the F.B.I. has recklessly spied on legitimate political activities, such as the recent "Earth Day" meeting in Washington. Neither charge withstands careful examination. Much publicity attended a speech recently made on the floor of the House of Representatives by one of the Democrat leadership, who promised "proof" that the F.B.I. had tapped his telephone. However, even the normally liberal press concluded that no factual evidence has been presented to substantiate this charge, a charge that Attorney General Mitchell has branded as false.

The second charge--that the F.B.I. has recklessly spied on legitimate political activities--has also been shown to be baseless. F.B.I. agents have had under surveillance numerous persons who have been suspected of involvement in illegal activities aimed at the U.S. government, and some of these people do attend legitimate political functions from time to time. However, an era of political protest far too often takes such forms as bombing the Capitol or massive and illegal attempts to shut down the government by blocking traffic and entrances to government buildings. It is difficult indeed to find fault with F.B.I. efforts to gather intelligence on individuals and groups who may be involved.

We are one of very few peoples in the world today or throughout recorded history who have been privileged to live in a nation based on democratic processes and the rights of individuals. If crime, subversion and illegal acts, committed for the purpose of circumventing or destroying the democratic process, are allowed to multiply unchecked, then freedom's future is bleak. The responsibility of the F.B.I. is to bring to justice those who violate the law, whether the motive of the criminal be personal